By. John Goodman, D.D.

A *Serious* and *Compassionate*

INQUIRY

Into the *Causes* of the *present Neglect* and *Contempt* of the

Protestant Religion

AND

CHURCH

OF

ENGLAND:

WITH

Several seasonable Considerations offer'd to all *English* Protestants, tending to perswade them to a Complyance with and Conformity to the Religion and Government of this Church as it is established by the Laws of the Kingdom.

Tertul. Scorpiac. adv. Gnostic.

Non in occasione frustrandi Martyrii jubet te (Apostolus scil.) *subjici Magistratibus, sed in provocatione bene vivendi.*

Sine ira & studio, quorum causas procul habeo. Tacit. Ann. 1.

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INſtead of an Epiſtle to the Reader, as the manner is, I humbly ſubmit the enſuing Diſcourſe to the Cenſure of my Superiors in the Church of England, *and to the Conſideration of all the Nonconformiſts of whatſoever Sect or Denomination: hoping the former will pardon the Imperfections of it; and that the latter may (by God's Bleſſing) reap ſome Benefit by it.*

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THE INTRODUCTION.

WHEREIN

The Ancient eſtate of Chriſtianity in general is compared with the preſent, and the condition of the Reformed Religion in this Kingdom in the firſt times of it, is compared with that of the preſent Age; And the Change lamented.

Whoſoever ſeriouſly conſiders the Certainty and Excellency of the Chriſtian Religion in its own nature, and withall obſerves with how juſt Veneration it was received, with what Ardour imbraced, with what Courage and Conſtancy maintained and practiſed,

then, when all the powers on Earth ſought to ſuppreſs it, when the Wit and Malice of the World was combined againſt it, and when to be a Chriſtian, was the plain way to ruine, and the loſs of whatſoever uſes to be dear to men in this World; And ſhall compare herewith, the preſent State of Chriſtendome, *now ſince the offence of the Croſs is ceaſed, and the Faith of Chriſt is become the Profeſſion of Kings and Princes, and (beſides all other either arguments of its truth, or inducements to embrace it) is confirmed by the ſucceſſive ſuffrages of ſo many Ages, and the concurrent Votes of ſo great a part of Mankind: He, I ſay, that ſhall take the little pains to make this Compariſon, cannot chooſe but be aſtoniſhed at the contrary face of things, and be ready to ſay with* Linacer, Aut hoc non eſt Evangelium, aut nos non ſumus Evangelici; *Either Chriſtian Religion is not what it was, or men are not what they were wont to be.*

For beſides the palpable Contradiction of the Lives of the generality of Chriſtians now, to the Rules of their Religion, laid down in the Writings of the New Teſtament, which is ſuch, as would make an indefferent man ſuſpect that they believed thoſe Books to contain abſolute impoſſibilities, or at leaſt not the

the things that are neceſſary to ſalvation; ſince ſo few take the Rule of their Lives, or the Meaſures of their Actions thence: Beſides this, I ſay, he that ſhall obſerve how the Primitive Chriſtians for ſeveral Ages after our Saviour are reported to have lived, and how far ſhort the latter Ages fall of thoſe Examples, will be tempted either to pronounce the Hiſtories of thoſe Times meer Romances; or the Men of theſe Times to be any thing rather than what they call themſelves.

Such a general Declenſion there hath been, that the complaint of Tully, *concerning the Philoſophers of his time, may juſtly be applyed to the Chriſtians of ours, That they made* diſciplinam ſuam, oſtentationem ſcientiæ, non legem vitæ; non obtemperant ſibi ipſis, ſed in eo peccant, cujus profitentur ſcientiam. *That whereas Chriſtian Religion was calculated for no other Meridian, deſigned to no other purpoſe, than the bettering and improving the Tempers and Lives of Men, it is perverted rather to an Apology for our Looſneſs, than* applyed *to the Cure of our Diſorders.*

I cannot pleaſe my ſelfe with ſo odious a Compariſon as the Caſe in hand would ad-

mit of; nor will I trouble the Reader with long ſtories of the admirable converſation of thoſe early Chriſtians, which whoſo will take the pains, may find in Juſtin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Origen *and others: And he that is willing to decline that trouble, may find nearer hand in the Collections of a judicious and faithfull Writer, in his Book called,* Primitive Chriſtianity.

But it may not be unuſefull to remark ſome few particulars.

Of old to be a Chriſtian, was to be all that is holy, juſt and good, to be adorned with all thoſe Vertues that can render a man acceptable to God, or lovely amongſt men. Whereever this Religion came, it was a Principle of Purity in mens hearts, of Honeſty in their lives, and of Peace in Kingdoms and Societies. It raiſed mens minds to a Contemplation and Purſuit of another World, and enabled them both to diſpiſe the preſent, and to be a bleſſing to it. It did not teach men to ſpeak great ſwelling words, but to live, to do and to ſuffer admirably; that the very Pagans (their mortal Enemies,) were aſtoniſhed at them; and ſome of them gave them this teſtimony, Hi ſunt qui vivunt ut loquuntur, & loquuntur ut vivunt;

vunt; *Theſe are the men that are as good as their word, and live as high and generouſly as others talk.*

The Chriſtian Faith was not then a meer trick of Wit, nor a bone of Contention; but a Principle of ſincere Honeſty, which guided men into the knowledge of their Duty, and inſpired them with courage and reſolution to perform it. Give me, *ſaith* Lactantius, a fierce and contentious man, and if he will but apply himſelf to the Grace and inſtitutions of the Goſpel, he ſhall become as mild as a Lamb: Give me a Drunkard or a Laſcivious perſon with this Doctrine I will make him chaſte and ſober: Let a Covetous man hearken to this Doctrine, and he ſhall preſently diſpence his money as charitably, as before he raked it together ſordidly: Give me a timorous and Cowardly perſon, this Religion ſhall preſently make him valiant and deſpiſe death and danger, *And ſo he goes on. In thoſe days Believing was not an excuſe for Diſobedience, or a commutation for a holy Life; but a foundation of Obedience to all the Laws of God and man.* *Lib. 3. 26. cap. de falſa ſap.*

Then all the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity had

one heart and one lip, and then they built towards Heaven in a good ſenſe; but ſince, diſtraction of Mind, alienation of Affections, and confuſion of Language hath mad a Babel *of a Church. There was then but one diviſion of men,* εὐσεβεῖς *and* ἀσεβεῖς *were the only Sects the World was divided by; all good men were of one way, and evil men of another. But now there are almoſt as many Opinions as Men, as many Parties as Opinions, and as many Religions as either.*

Time was, when men ſacrificed their Lives in teſtimony to their Faith, as frankly, as ſince they have done to their Paſſions, Revenge or Ambition. Then was Charity counted as eſſential a part of Religion, as Cenſoriouſneſs is now with too many. Brotherly love and mutual dearneſs was a Characteriſtical Note of thoſe then, that now may be as well known by their diſtractions and animoſities. St. Gregory Nazianzen *ſaid of thoſe Times, That if one Chriſtian took notice of the errour, ſin or failing of another, it was to bewail it, to heal it, to cover his ſhame, and cure his wound, and prevent a ſcandal to his Profeſſion; but he obſerved, that after-times made triumphs of mens weakneſs and follies; and men learnt to juſtify their own wickedneſs by the miſcarri-*

Orat. 1.

ages,

ages of their Brethren; and that he that would prove himſelf of the higheſt form *of Chriſtians, ſet himſelf down in the ſeat of the* ſcorner.

Nothing was then thought too good or coſtly for the ſervice of God *or Religion: Men would not content themſelves to ſerve* God *with that which coſt them nothing. It was onely* Julian, *or ſuch another, that envied the coſtly Veſſels, wherewith Chriſt was ſerved. Works of Piety and Mercy and Charity coſt them as much as Luxury and Contention now a days. When the Gentiles in* Tertullian's *time, upbraided the Chriſtians, that they made choice of a cheap Religion, and renounced the Pagan Sacrifices, becauſe they would not undergo the charge of them; and complayned that the Frugality of the Chriſtian Worſhip cauſed a decay of Trade for the Eaſtern Gumms and Spices, that uſed to be ſpent in the ſervice of the Gods, and that by this means the Cuſtoms of the Emperors were alſo diminiſhed: To all this he makes this anſwer:* We Chriſtians ſpend more in the relief of the poor, than you Gentiles do upon your Gods: And though we uſe not Gumms and Spices for Incence, yet we as much promote Trade by the vaſt proportions of thoſe commodities we ſpend in the

imbalming our dead. And laſtly, if it ſhould happen that the Emperors Exchequer ſhould loſe any thing, either by the temperance of our Lives, or the nature of our Religion, yet we make it up another way; for we make conſcience of paying him his juſt dues: whereas you cheat and defraud him of more than the proportion of your expences above ours would amount to.

In thoſe early times the Chriſtian Aſſemblies drained and emptied the Roman *Theatres, and the multitude thronged into the Church, as earneſtly as now they croud out*; Coimus in cœtum ut ad Deum quaſi manu facta precationibus ambiamus orantes, *ſaid the forementioned* Tertullian. *The confluence to the publick Worſhip was in thoſe days ſo great, and the conſent of heart and voice ſo univerſal, that St.* Jerome ſaid, *The* Hallelujahs *of the Church was like the noiſe of many Waters, and the* Amen *like Thunder*; *Heaven and Earth then anſwered each other in a glorious* Antiphone, *and made up one bleſſed* Chorus! *There was joy in Heaven, and peace on Earth: The Hymn ſung by the Angels at our Saviour's Nativity, was verified in thoſe firſt Ages of his Religion,* Glory to God on High, on Earth Peace, and Good-will amongſt men.

Ibid.

The

The Holy men of those times that approached our Saviour, had as it were some Raies of his divinity shed upon them, and their faces shone like Moses's, *when he came down from the Holy Mount.*

A Christian Church was a College of holy and good men, and the Glory of God *filled the place where they assembled; and Fire came down from Heaven too, but not to set the World in combustion, but to exhale and lift up the Odours of pious and devout Prayers.*

But since those times Zeal hath decayed, as if it had not been the intrinsick Excellency of Religion, but the fires of Pagan persecution that kindled that heat in the breasts of Christians; and the Church so divided and broken in pieces, as if it was not one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism that united them, but a common enemy. Dry Opinions have been taken for Faith, and Zeal of a Party hath gone for Holiness of Live; Men have been busie in making new Creeds, and have forgotten to practise the old one. And since the Empire hath been divided into East and West, Churches have been at defiance, and as opposite to each other as those points are. In short, The once famous Greek *Churches*

ches are now over-run with ſo ſqualid a Barbariſm, that little but the Name of Chriſtianity is left amongſt them: And the Ro-
Rom. 1. 8. man *Church, whoſe Faith was famous and* ſpoken of through all the world, *is now as infamous for Uſurpation, Superſtition and Cruelty, and ſo deformed with Pagan Rites and mundane Policies, that Chriſtianity is the leaſt part of her.*

What ſhall we take to be the reaſon of this general defection? Was it onely novelty and not its intrinſick Goodneſs and Reaſonableneſs that commended this Religion to the World, that the longer it laſts, the leſs it ſignifies? Or are the Principles of Chriſtianity effete (like the Cauſes of the Gentile Oracles, as Plutarch *diſcourſes) that all the motives of Vertue and Holineſs have now ſo little influence upon mens tempers and lives? Or is it true that was ſaid of old,* Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem, *ſince Churches have been endowed, men have eſpouſed onely the Fortune, and not the Faith? Or is the true reaſon, that of old, Chriſtianity was deeply rooted in the Hearts of men, and brought forth the fruits of good works in their Lives: whereas now it is onely a barren notion in mens Heads, and is productive of nothing but leaves of Opinion*

and

and Profeſſion? Then it was the employment of mens hearts in meditation, of their knees in devotion, of their hands in diſtribution and beneficence: now it is become the entertainment of mens ears in hearing novelty, of their tongues and lips in cenſuring and diſputing.

But whatever the cauſes have been, ſuch is the Condition of Religion generally in the Greek *and* Latin *Churches; and I doubt if we come nearer home, we ſhall not find things much better.*

This Iſland of Britain *had the glory not onely to be the native Countrey of* Conſtantine *the firſt Chriſtian Emperour, but a far greater, that under* Lucius *it received the Chriſtian Faith firſt of any great Kingdom in the world.* Britannorum loca, Romanis inacceſſa, Chriſto verò ſubdita, *ſaith* Tertullian, *The Croſs made a more effectual as well as a more happy Conqueſt here, than all the* Roman *Powers could do. And this Northern Climate was not onely thus early enlightned with the beams of the Sun of Righteouſneſs, but had life and warmth proportionably. An evidence whereof we have, in that we find* Britiſh *Biſhops at the Council of* Arles *which was held before the* Nicene: *And at the time*

time of the Nicene *Council* Britain *was counted one of the Six Dioceſſes of the Weſtern Empire. And for the Zeal of the* Britiſh *Chriſtians, the Martyrdom of St.* Albane, Amphibolus *and others are great and glorious inſtances.*

But to deſcend to lower times. The Inhabitants of this Iſland have not been more famous for Martial Proweſs againſt their enemies, hoſpitality to ſtrangers, and good nature towards all mankind, (which three things have been, and, I hope, are ſtill their peculiar glories, than for ſincere piety and devotion. Polydore Virgil *an* Italian, *and* Eraſmus *a* Dutchman, *both of the* Roman *Communion, and competent Witneſſes, do affirm, That there was more true Devotion and ſincerity of Religion in this Church and Kingdom of* England, *than in any one place of the world beſides. What was ſaid of* Sparta, *that* ibi ſenes ſunt maximè ſenes, *might be applyed to this purpoſe, that here Chriſtians were ſo the moſt heartily and truly of any people in the world. The Univerſal Paſtor (as he would be called) I mean the Biſhop of* Rome, *obſerved the ſheep of* England *to bear ſuch good Fleeces, and ſo patiently to ſubmit to the Shearer, that he kept a watchfull eye over this Flock, and his vi-*

gilancy

gilancy was rewarded with the Golden Fleece. He and his Emiſſaries found ſuch large hearts and devout minds here, that we are inabled to underſtand the reaſon of their great concern for our going aſtray ſince, and their earneſt and unwearied endeavours to reduce us back again to that fold. Tet what by being oftner ſhorn than fed, (and then not with the beſt Paſtures neither,) what by the ill examples of others, (but eſpecially of their Guides,) and what by length of time; corruption overſpread this Church too: But then, as it happens in bodies of a ſtrong and vivacious Conſtitution, when they chance by ill Diet or other accident, to be ſtuft with Crudities and bad humours, they Critically evacuate them by meer ſtrength of Nature: So this Church gave certain proof that it had ſana principia, *and a true ſenſe of the reality of Chriſtianity, that one of the firſt in* Chriſtendom *it returned to it ſelf and a juſt temperament by a Reformation.*

And the Reformation of this Church, which the Romaniſts for their own ends, ſo much deteſt, and ſome others unreaſonably ſlight, was as much the Emulation of other Nations, as Glorious in it ſelf. For,

1. *It*

1. *It was the moſt orderly and beſt becoming Chriſtianity; it was not brought in with Tumult and Sedition, as moſt Changes are, but by Laws and the Supream Magiſtrate. There was no noiſe of Axes and Hammers in this Building, but the ſeveral parts of this Fabrick fell in together with a kind of Harmony, as the Jews ſay of the Temple of* Salomon.

2. *It was the moſt moderate and temperate, as being the reſult of Deliberation and Reaſon, not of blind Paſſion or an humour of Innovation. Our Reformers did not purge out the good, becauſe formerly it had been abuſed (as the humour of ſome men is to do) but vindicated what was uſefull, from the abuſe: They neither countenanced, what was evil by the good was to be found, nor rejected the good for the caſual adherence of evil. They did not aboliſh a venerable Order or Office in the Church for the ill manners of ſome that had born it; but took care to put better men in the rooms of ſuch. They were not of opinion, that the Church could not arrive at primitive purity, unleſs it was reduced to primitive poverty; nor becauſe they found ſome Ceremonies then uſed that were ſuperſtitious and dangerous, and thought*

too

too many were burdenſome, therefore concluded all decency in the ſervice of God was Popiſh. And in ſhort, they did not depart farther from the Church *of* Rome *by Reformation, than ſhe had departed from the Truth and her ſelf by degeneracy and corruption. By all which they demonſtrated, that the change they made, was not for the ſake of humour and faction, but neceſſity and publick good.*

The Church of Rome *reproaches us with the ſiniſter ends of the Prince and ſeveral of thoſe that ſate at the helm of this great affair: But who knows not, that it is the uſual method of Almighty* God *to bring about his own deſigns, and accompliſh the greateſt benefits to Mankind, by making the ſiniſter intentions of men co-operate towards them? He made uſe of the unnatural cruelty of* Joſeph's *Brethren toward him, to the preſervation of the whole family of* Jacob, *ſending* Joſeph *into* Ægypt *as an Harbinger and Nurſe to provide for them in a famine. And in reſpect hereof* Joſeph *tells them,* it was not they, but God ſent him thither. *The Cruelty of* Pharaoh, *who ſought by ſeverities to break and wear out the* Iſraelites, *harden'd them and prepared them for all the difficulties they were afterwards to encounter. The obſtinacy and incredulity of the Jews, proved*

Act. 8. 4. *proved to be the* riches of the Gentiles. *The perſecution of the Apoſtles at* Jeruſalem *made way for the ſpreading of the Goſpel into all other Countrys. Inſtances of this kind are innumerable; or if they were not, yet were it very unſafe for thoſe of the Church of* Rome *to make this objection, leſt they provoke us to ſay what cannot be either denyed or juſtified by them, that the barbarous Tyrant and Uſurper* Phocas *brought in the univerſal Paſtorſhip of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and that the moſt bloody and rapacious Princes have ordinarily been the great Patrons and Indowers of their Church; thinking, it ſeems, to hallow their own Villanies, and legitimate their unjuſt acquiſitions, by dividing the ſpoil with the Biſhop and Church of* Rome.

3. *The* Engliſh *Reformation was the moſt compleat and perfect in its kind, as retaining the moſt ancient Doctrine and ſoundeſt Confeſſion of Faith, founded upon the holy Scriptures, and agreeable to the Firſt General Councils, the moſt Primitive Church-Government, and a Liturgie, the beſt accommodate to reconcile and unite mens Devotions: Such a Liturgie, as Mr.* Fox *the Author of the Martyrologie is not afraid to ſay was indited by the Holy Ghoſt; but certainly had a great teſtimony*

teſtimony in the unſpeakable joy and contentment holy men took in it in King Edward *the Sixth's days, their zeal for the maintenance of it, longing for the reſtitution of it and ſealed it with their blood in Queen* Maries *days, and the univerſal triumphs and acclamations at the reſtoring of it in Queen* Elizabeths *Reign.*

And admirable it is to conſider how happy this Church and Nation then was; in what Glory and Majeſty the Prince reigned; in what Peace and Concord the Subjects lived; but eſpecially it is remarkable, how devout and Pious an Age that was, as is ſcarce perhaps to be parallel'd ſince the time that Chriſtianity flouriſht under Conſtantine *the Great. What reverence was then yielded to the Miniſters of Religion? What devotion to the publick Worſhip? How goneral an acquieſcence of hearts and minds in it?*

Which the greater it was, the more juſt is our wonder, and the more reaſonable our inquiry, what ſhould be the cauſe that in the ſame Church, and amongſt devout and honeſt-minded Engliſhmen, ſuch a zeal ſhould terminate in ſo cold an indifferency, as may now be obſerved; or rather that ſuch

a bleſſed harmony ſhould degenerate into ſo much diſcord, as is now too diſcernable amongſt us.

We read Ezra 3. *that when the ſecond Temple at* Jeruſalem *was building, the young men rejoyced at the reviving glory of their Nation and Religion, but the old men (that had beheld the far greater ſplendour and more ſtately majeſty of the former Temple built by* Solomon, *they) wept, as contemplating how far this came ſhort of that: ſo that it was hard to ſay, whether the ſhouts of the young men or the lamentations of the elder were the more loud. And truly when we conſider in how low a condition the Church of* England *was ſome few years ſince, till it had a happy Reſurrection with the Return of our Gracious Sovereign, will ſee cauſe to rejoyce and thank God that we are in no worſe condition than we are; But he that underſtands and conſiders what was the felicity of the firſt Age of our Reformation, and compares it with the preſent condition of our affairs, will have juſt cauſe to lament the difference.*

For in thoſe days ſo venerable was the Society of the Church, that to be caſt out of it

it by Excommunication was as dreadfull as to be thunder-ſmitten; that Sentence was like Proſcription among the Romans, *which they counted a Civil death, and dreaded as much as a Natural. But now it is become a matter of Ambition with ſome, and a piece of* Glory; *And to be caſt out of the Church, is as good as Letters teſtimonial or recommendatory to other Aſſemblies.*

There were few or none then that did not conſtantly frequent the Church; now the Church is become the Conventicle in many places, and the Conventicle the Church, in reſpect of the fulneſs and frequency of the one, and the unfrequentedneſs and deſtitution of the other.

Ariſtonicus *came to a certain City in* Greece *where he obſerved many Temples, but few men that would hear him. He therefore inſtead of the uſual phraſe* ἀκούετε λαοὶ, *cryes out,* ἀκούετε ναοὶ, *Hear O ye Stone-walls, leſs hard than the hearts of men. The Application is too eaſie in our caſe.*

In that time we ſpeak of, the Liturgy and publick Prayers were counted a princi-

pal part of God's Worſhip; now they are not onely nothing without a Sermon, but in danger to deſecrate the Sermon too by their conjunction. The Bible is ſcarce Canonical, if it have the Prayers bound up in the ſame Cover; and ſo extreamly offenſive are they grown to ſome, that they will rather totally neglect the publick Worſhip of God, and never receive the Communion whileſt they live, than have to do with the Common Prayers.

Heretofore there were but few things ſcrupled in the eſtabliſht Religion, and thoſe were very few that made uſe of any ſuch pretence or ſcruple; but now it is become the great point of Sanctity to ſcruple every thing. There was one indeed, and he a great man, that ſaid, there were tolerabiles ineptiæ *in our Liturgy; and the moſt favourable return he met with, was, that he had his* tolerabiles moroſitates. *Now the title of* ineptiæ *is counted too mild an expreſſion; whatever ſuits not the preſent humour, is either Jewiſh, Popiſh or Superſtitious.*

Mr. *Calv.*

This Change is ſadly lamentable, that good Laws ſhould be thus trampled upon, the beſt

beſt Church in the world thus deſpiſed, and the beſt minded People thus abuſed

Now my buſineſs is therefore in the firſt place, to enquire from what Cauſes this hath come to paſs.

PART I.

An Enquiry into the Cauſes and Origin of the Separation from and Contempt of the Engliſh *Reformed Church.*

CHAP. I.

Wherein are repreſented ſeveral things that are pretended, but are not the true Cauſes *of our diſtractions and diſſatisfactions*; viz. 1. *Corruption in Doctrine*; 2. *The too near approach of this Church to the* Roman; 3. *The Scandalouſneſs of the Clergie: All which are diſproved.*

WE have a Proverbial ſaying amongſt us, that *Every one that is forty years old is either a Fool or a Phyſician*: But without a Proverb to juſtifie the undertaking, there are but few that

(at what age ſoever) do not think themſelves at years of diſcretion enough, to paſs a judgement upon, and preſcribe to the Body Politick whether Church or State. Though it uſually happens, that ſuch Empiricks, either to ſhew their wit (ſuſpecting diſtempers where there are none) make them; or whileſt they raſhly adventure *quieta movere* and like *Engliſhmen* will be always mending, they make work for better skill than their own; or laſtly if they diſcover ſome ſmal matter amiſs, miſtaking the cauſe of it, not onely loſe their time and labour (which would be eaſily pardonable) but exhauſt the ſpirits of the Patient with improper medicines, and purge out the good and uſefull juices as noxious humours, and ſo the Phyſician becomes far the greater diſeaſe of the two.

That our Church is of a ſound and healthfull conſtitution, and might have continued ſo, had it not met with this fortune, I think I have ſufficiently, though briefly manifeſted in the foregoing Introduction: But ſome men either loving to be always reforming or having firſt ſeparated from it, that they may either commend their own skill, or juſtifie their own fact, muſt accuſe the Church,

We

We read of *Brutus*, that having killed *Cæſar* he was always after inveighing againſt him as a Tyrant, *Ità enim facto ejus expediebat*, ſaith the Hiſtorian, It was expedient he ſhould call *Cæſar* Tyrant, for otherwiſe himſelf muſt be a notorious Traytor. So theſe men, though the greateſt diſorders of the Church be but what themſelves have made, muſt find faults, that they may not ſeem to have raiſed all the duſt, and withdrawn themſelves and others from it without cauſe.

1. And in the firſt place the Doctrine of this Church is blamed; though thanks be to God, there are but few that are of ſo little diſcretion as to bring in this charge, and thoſe that are, will never be able to prove it.

The main (if not the onely) thing excepted againſt in this kind, is, that the thirty nine Articles are not ſo punctual in defining the five points debated at the Synod of *Dort* as they could wiſh. But this though it neither needs nor deſerves an anſwer, yet I ſhall reply theſe two things to it.

Firſt, That it is not ſo with the Doctrine of Chriſtianity as with common Arts and Sci-

Sciences which depend upon humane wit and invention, and conſequently are capable of daily improvements: For the mind of man having not an intuitive knowledge, but proceeding by way of diſcourſe, diſcovers one thing by another, and infers things from one another, ſo that there is not a *Nè plus ultrà* in thoſe things, but daily new diſcoveries, *& dies diem docet.* Whereto accords the ſaying of wiſe men, *Antiquitas ſæculi, eſt juventus mundi*; That which we call the old World, is but indeed the infancy of knowledge, and the latter Times muſt needs have as much the advantage of truth as they have of deliberation and experiment.

But it is quite otherwiſe with Chriſtianity, for that depending ſolely upon Divine Revelation, can admit of no new diſcoveries; Time may obſcure it, and the buſie wit of man may perplex and confound it with its inventions, but can never diſcover any thing new, or bring to light any truth that was not ſo from the beginning. For if we admit of new Revelation, we loſe the old and our Religion together, we accuſe our Saviour and his Apoſtles as if they had not ſufficiently revealed Gods mind to the world, and we incur St. *Paul's Anathema* which

which he denounces againſt him (whoſoever it ſhall be, nay, if an Angel from Heaven) that ſhall preach any other doctrine than what had been received. And St. *Jude* hath told us the Faith was *once*, that is either at once, or once for all, delivered to or by the Saints. But if we ſhall pretend a private Spirit or Revelation to diſcover and interpret what was before delivered, we do as bad; we ſuppoſe Chriſt and his Apoſtles not to be able to deliver the mind of God, and we open a Gap for all Impoſtures and deluſions perpetually to infeſt and corrupt Chriſtian Doctrine.

The conſequence of theſe premiſes is, that (contrary to what I affirmed before of other Sciences) the elder any Doctrine of Chriſtianity can be proved to be, it muſt needs be the truer, and accordingly deſerve the greater veneration from us, as coming nearer the fountain of Evangelical Truth, Divine Revelation: and that he that talks of more clear Light of the latter times, and clearer diſcoveries in Religion, talks as fooliſhly as he that ſhould affirm he could diſcern things better at a miles diſtance, than the man that hath as good eyes as himſelf, and yet ſtood cloſe by the object.

This

This being ſo, it muſt needs be the excellency and great commendation of this Church, that her Articles of Doctrine agree better with the firſt times of Chriſtianity than the laſt Age; and is an irrefragable Argument that ſhe derived it not from any Lake or lower ſtreames troubled and mudded with mens paſſions and diſputes, but from the Fountain of the holy Scripture, and from thoſe who certainly had beſt advantage of underſtanding it in its own ſimplicity, the Primitive Church. That no one Father or Writer of the Church, whether Greek or Latin, before St. *Auſtin*'s time agreed in Doctrine with the determination of the Synod of *Dort* is ſo notoriouſly plain that it needs no proof, nor can be denyed. And if he (I mean St. *Auſtin*) agrees therewith, yet it is certain that in ſo doing he diſagrees as much with himſelf as he doth with us of the Church of *England*. And what if St. *Auſtin*, a devout good man, (but whoſe Piety was far more commendable than his Reaſon,) being hard put to it by the *Manichees* on one hand, and the *Pelagians* on the other, was not able to extricate himſelf, who can help it? Shall his Opinion, and that which he was rather forced into by diſputation than made choiſe of, but eſpecially ſhall the Determination of

of a few Divines at *Dort* vye with the conſtant doctrine of the Primitive Church, or make that an imputation upon our Church, which is really among its Glories? Muſt a novel *Dutch Synod* preſcribe Doctrine to the Church of *England*, and outweigh all Antiquity? Shall thoſe that knew not how God could be juſt, unleſs he was cruel, nor great unleſs he decreed to damn the greateſt part of Mankind; that could not tell how man ſhould be kept humble, unleſs they made him not a man but a ſtock or a ſtone: Shall, I ſay, ſuch Men and ſuch Opinions confront the Ancient Catholick Apoſtolick Faith, held forth in the Church of *England*?

Secondly, The Articles of the Doctrine of this Church do with ſuch admirable prudence and warineſs handle theſe points we are now ſpeaking of, as if particular reſpect was had to theſe men, and care taken that they might *abundare ſuo ſenſu*, enjoy their own Judgments, and yet without check ſubſcribe to theſe Articles. And accordingly it is well known, that not many years ſince, when the *Dort* Opinions were very predominant amongſt many Divines of this Church, they uſed (it may be) a little more ſcholaſtick ſubtilty to reconcile their own Opinions with theſe Articles, but never condemned

demned the latter for the ſake of the former.

And at this day divers good men are in the ſervice of this Church that are in their private Judgments of the *Dort* perſwaſion, and yet never thought their ſubſcription to theſe Articles did any violence to their Conſciences or Judgments: therefore this can be no cauſe of our Troubles, nor ground of Seperation from the Church.

A ſecond pretence againſt this Church is, that it is not ſufficiently purged from the droſs of Popiſh Superſtitions, that it comes too near the Church of *Rome*, and ſo the Communion of it is dangerous.

Popery is an odious name in this Nation, and God be thanked that it is ſo, for it deſerves no leſs: But as *Conſtantine* when he condemned the *Arrians* and decreed their Books ſhould be burnt, appointed that they ſhould be called *Porphyrians*, a name ſufficiently deteſted by the generality of Chriſtians: So thoſe men that have a mind to reproach the Church, know no more effectual way of affixing an Ignominy upon it, than by laying the imputation of Popery to it. And indeed if the charge were as true as it is falſe, or if it were as probable as it is malicious,

cious, it would not onely ſerve to exaſperate the Vulgar againſt the Church, but to juſtifie their Seceſſion from it. But it is hard to ſay whether the unreaſonableneſs or the uncharitableneſs be greater in this ſuggeſtion. For,

1. It is certain there hath been little or no alteration made in either the Doctrine, Diſcipline or Liturgy ſince the firſt Reformation; and therefore if either of them incline too much that way, they did ſo from the beginning. Now that which I inquire into, is, what ſhould be the cauſes of the late revolt and Seperation from this Church, or what ſhould make that diſcernable change in mens affections towards it, from what was in the former Age? And he that tels me it was Popiſhly conſtituted at firſt, gives indeed a reaſon (if it was true) why this Reformation ſhould not have been entertained at firſt, but doth not aſſign a cauſe why thoſe ſhould depart from it now, that had imbraced it with ſo much zeal formerly. He therefore that would ſpeak home to this caſe, muſt ſhew that this church hath *loſt its firſt love*, and hath warped towards the old corruptions from which it was once purged. But this is ſo far from being poſſible to be ſhewn, that it is certain on the contrary, that all the change that hath been made of late years,

hath

hath been meerly in complyance with and condeſcention to thoſe that object this againſt it; and a man would reaſonably expect, they would eaſily pardon ſuch Innovations.

But in truth the main quarrel is, that we are not always reforming, but keep to the old Matron-like dreſs, the Queen *Elizabeth* faſhion. If the Governours of the Church would comply with the curioſity of this wanton Age, our Religion would quickly have the fortune of *Apelles*'s picture according to the known ſtory. He to deride the conceited folly of the Age, expoſes to publick view a Maſter-piece of his work: And as it uſually happens, that every body pretends to skill in reforming (by the incouragement of the Proverb that ſaith, *facile eſt inventis addere*) ſcarcely any perſon that paſt by, but ſpent their verdict upon the picture; All commend it in the general, yet to give ſome ſpecial inſtance of their skill, every one finds ſome fault or other: One would have had more Shadow, another leſs; one commends the Eye, but blames a Lip, *&c.* The ſubtil Artiſt obſerves all, and ſtill as any paſſenger had ſhot his bolt, alters the picture accordingly. The reſult was, that at laſt by ſo many Reformations it became ſo deformed and monſtrous a piece, that not onely

only wiſer men, but theſe vulgar Reformers themſelves wondred at it, and could now diſcern nothing worthy ſo famed an Artiſt. He on the other hand, to right himſelf, produces another Piece of the ſame Beauty and Art, which he had hitherto kept up by him, and had eſcaped their cenſure, and upbraids them thus, *Hanc ego feci, iſtam populus*, This latter is my work, the other is a monſter of your own making.

This is our caſe; Chriſtian Religion was by holy and wiſe men our Reformers, deveſted of thoſe gaudy and meretricious accoutrements the *Romaniſts* had dreſt her up in, and habited according to primitive ſimplicity? but this would not pleaſe every body, every Sect and party would have ſomething or other added or altered according to their ſeveral phancies and Hypotheſes, which if it ſhould be allowed (the opinions of men are ſo contrary one to another as well as to truth) the true lineaments of Chriſtianity would quite be loſt. Upon this conſideration hath not this Church been very fond of alterations.

But to all this it is likely it will be replyed, That now we have more light and diſcover blemiſhes and deformities, which (though

they were before, yet) we could not diſcern when our ſelves came out of the dark Den of popery. At firſt like the man under cure of his blindneſs, *Mark* 8. 24. we ſaw men as trees walking, we diſcovered only ſome more palpable errors, but now we diſcern though leſſer yet not tolerable deformities.

2. To this therefore I anſwer in the ſecond place, That it is certain all is not to be eſteemed Popery, that is held or practiſed by the Church of *Rome*, and it cannot be our duty (as I have ſaid before) to depart further from her than ſhe hath departed from the truth: for then it would be our duty to forſake Chriſtianity it ſelf in deteſtation of Popery. To reform is not ſurely to caſt away every thing that was in uſe before, unleſs Barbariſm be the only through Reformation.

The Hiſtorian obſerves of thoſe that ſpoil Provinces and ranſack Kingdoms *ubi ſolitudinem fecere pacem appellant*, when they had converted a flouriſhing Countrey into a deſolate Wilderneſs, they called this a profound peace. But ſure to reform is not to deſtroy and lay waſte, but to amend. Unleſs therefore it can be proved againſt the Church of *England* that ſhe holds or practiſes any thing falſe or ſinful, it will little avail them that ob-

object againſt her, and as little be any blemiſh to her conſtitution, that in ſome things ſhe concurs with the *Roman*. Nor is it reaſonable to ſay, ſuch a thing is received from the Church of *Rome*, meerly becauſe there it is to be found, unleſs it be to be found no where elſe: for though it be true that many things are the ſame in both Churches, (in as much as it is impoſſible they ſhould be Churches of Chriſt at all elſe,) yet it is as true that thoſe things wherein they agree are ſuch (and no other) as were received generally by all Chriſtian Churches, and by the *Roman* before it lay under any ill character. But that this Church doth not ſo ſyncretize with that of *Rome*, as to make its Communion unſafe or ſinful, I ſuppoſe the following Conſiderations will give ſufficient ſecurity to an unprejudiced mind. In the mean time let me intreat him that hath entertained any ſuſpicions of that kind againſt her, to give an ingenuous Anſwer of theſe two or three Queries.

1. If there be ſuch a dangerous affinity betwixt the Church of *England* and the *Romiſh*, how came it to paſs that the bleſſed inſtruments of our Reformation, ſuch as A. Biſhop *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and others, laid down their lives in teſtimony to this

againſt that? For if thoſe of the Church of *Rome* could have been ſo barbarous as cruelly to murther thoſe excellent perſons for ſome ſlight Innovations, or for differing from them in Circumſtantials; yet certainly ſuch wiſe and good men would not have been ſo prodigal of their own blood, nor weary of their lives as to caſt them away upon Trifles. It is probable at leaſt therefore that thoſe of the Church of *Rome* thought the *Engliſh* Reformation to be eſſentially different from them; and it is more than probable that thoſe holy men aforeſaid thought ſo, and did not offer to God the ſacrifice of fools.

2. Or how comes it to paſs that all thoſe of the *Roman* Communion withdraw themſelves from ours, and are commanded ſo to doe by the Head of their Church under peril of damnation? And on the other ſide the true Proteſtants of the Church of *England*, think it their duty to abſent themſelves from the *Roman* Worſhip, leſt they ſhould defile their Conſciences with their Superſtitions; I ſay how comes this diſtance and apprehenſion of ſin and danger reciprocally, if the differences between them be inconſiderable?

3. Whence comes it to paſs, that the *Bigots* of the *Romiſh* Church have more ſpite againſt

againſt our Church, than againſt any Sect or Party whatſoever? but that they take us not only for Enemies, but the moſt mortal and formidable of all thoſe they have to doe with.

Or Laſtly, if both the Church and Churchmen of *England* are not far enough removed from any participation with that of *Rome*, how comes it to paſs that they of all men moſt zealouſly and conſtantly upon all occaſions ſtand in the gap and oppoſe the return of Popery into *England*, when other men either ſlight the danger, or are ſo fond of their own private ſentiments, as apparently to run the hazard of this for the ſake of them? Any reaſonable men would think thoſe men have not really ſuch an abhorrence of Popery as they pretend, and that there might eaſily be found terms of accommodation between them when he ſhall obſerve them more fond of every petty Opinion, than concern'd for the publick Security againſt that common Enemy; And that they will rather venture the danger of the breaking in upon them, than forgo the leaſt fancy or opinion? nay, will be inſtrumental in procuring a Toleration and ſuſpenſion of the publick Laws for that, which they are ſo jealous others ſhould have any kindneſs for. And for proof of this, I

call to witneſs the tranſactions of the laſt year, when thoſe very men that would be thought the *Atlas*'s and only ſupporters of Proteſtant Religion, and would give out as if their Zeal was the only Bulwark againſt Popery, had by their ſeparation from, and enmity to this Church, weakned the common intereſt, and by their reſtleſs importunities and unlimited deſires of liberty, in a manner extorted a ſuſpenſion of the Laws touching Religion. Had not His Majeſty and His Parliament timely foreſeen the conſequence, and the whole Nation been awakened into an apprehenſion of the danger by the ſerious and conſtant admonitions of the Epiſcopal Clergy, Popery might have come in like a Landflood upon us, notwithſtanding thoſe quickſighted Watchmen that can ſpy Popery ſo far off. I ſay had not the *Church-men* eſpecially beſtirred themſelves, and ſhewed both a better courage and zeal againſt Popery, and alſo a better skill in that warfare than their Accuſers, the ſo much dreaded Enemy had ere this time been in fair hopes of attaining his deſires.

This was a paſſage of ſo much glory to the true Church-men, and ſo great and illuſtrious an inſtance of their integrity, that I am in hope whileſt it ſhall remain in memory,

Malice

Malice it ſelf will be aſhamed to lay any imputation of inclining to Popery either upon the Church or Church-men of *England*.

I ſhall not need to add to all this, That there are as underſtanding men in Religion, perſons of as holy Lives, and of as comfortable Conſciences of this Churches Education, as are any where to be found in the world beſides. Which three things together fully acquit any Church of participation with Popery. For that degeneracy of Chriſtianity is for nothing more truly hateful, nor by nothing more diſcoverable than by its blind devotion, principles of immorality, and the bad ſecurity it gives to the Conſciences of men; which who ſo acquits any Church of, (as every conſiderate man muſt needs do this Church) he ſhall after that, very unreaſonably leave any ill character upon her, at leaſt of that nature we now are ſpeaking of.

3. But there is a terrible Charge yet to come, and that is againſt the Sufficiency, but eſpecially the Sanctity of the Clergy and Miniſtry of the Church of *England*; as if they, like the Sons of *Eli*, 1 Sam. 2. 15. *made men to abhor the offerings of the Lord.* And this is made the pretence of reſorting to Conventicles, and forſaking the Church.

Now if this was as true as it is horribly falſe, it might be an Objection perhapes fit for a *Papiſt* to make, who is taught that the efficacy of all Divine Offices depends upon the intention and condition of him that adminiſters; But no *Proteſtant* without coutradicting his own principles can make uſe of it to juſtifie his receſſion from the Church: For if the efficacy of all Divine Ordinances depend upon the Divine Inſtitution and the concurrence of God's Grace with my uſe of them, what can it prejudice me, that he that adminiſters is an evil or unlearned man, ſo long as I prepare my ſelf to receive benefit immediately from God, in the uſe of the means appointed by him? This therefore may ſerve for a malicious ſtone to caſt at us from whom they are departed; but no argument in the cauſe, nor excuſe for themſelves.

Yet I confeſs nevertheleſs, this way of arguing (for we muſt be forced to call hard words by that name) is of great prevalence with injudicious perſons, and able to prejudice them againſt the beſt Conſtitutions in the world. For they not underſtanding the reaſon of things, give reception and entertainment to any propoſition in proportion to the

the opinion or reverence they have for the perſon that recommends it. It is a known ſtory, how well the *Spartans* were aware of this; and therefore if in their Council, a man of a bad life had propounded excellent counſel, they would not ſuffer him, but ſuborn ſome other perſon of great ſanctity to be the Author of it: Amongſt other reaſons, leſt the ill opinion that was generally conceived of the perſon ſhould derogate from the weight and value of the counſel and advice.

Therefore the more extreamly to blame are thoſe that acknowledging the truth and excellency of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, can yet find in their hearts to undermine the ſucceſs of it by ſowing ſuſpicions and raiſing ſcandals againſt them that are to propagate it.

It will be to the immortal glory of the Great *Conſtantine*, that when at the *Nicene* Council the Biſhops and Clergy had exhibited to him a great bundle of Libels one againſt another, he burnt them all together before their faces, as thinking them fitter for the *fire*, than the *light*. And proteſted he had ſo great a zeal for the reputation of Church-men, and ſuch a ſenſe of the concern

cern and conſequence of their good fame and reputation, that if he ſhould ſee one of them in the moſt ſcandalous commiſſion, he would cover ſuch a mans ſhame with his own Purple.

But as I doubt in theſe days there is little of the Spirit and Charity of *Conſtantine*, ſo thanks be to God, there is little need of it in this caſe; for I doubt not to convince this ſuggeſtion againſt the *Church-men* of as much falſhood, as the former againſt the *Church* of frivolouſneſs. For though there want not thoſe in theſe dayes that are ſo quick-ſighted as to diſcover ſpots in the Sun it ſelf: Though I ſay, there be both thoſe that have great skill in all the methods of uncharitableneſs, ſuch as can inſinuate little whiſpers and jealouſies firſt, and then foment and hatch them up to a ſtory, and then aggravate the fact, and laſtly make the folly of ſome one man, be the ſcandal of the whole Order; And alſo thoſe Atheiſticall perſons whoſe intereſt it is (in order to the extenuating their own villanies,) as much as may be to render the perſons of thoſe that reprove them as ridiculous as they can, and to that purpoſe are become great proficients of late in a ſcurrilous kind of drollery, whereby they can ſublimate their own vices and debaucheries

baucheries into a kind of vapour, a meer frolick and Gentile humour, and on the other ſide aggravate the meer humane infirmities of graver men into great deformities: yet all their combined wit and malice will never be able to affix any ſcandal upon the Body of the preſent *Engliſh* Clergy.

1. For their Learning and Ability: If the Preaching of the preſent Age be not better than that of former, I would fain know the reaſon why the Homilies are in no greater reputation, and ſhould expect to ſee the people deſire their Paſtors to reade them in the Congregation, and ſave the labour of their own compoſitions.

If the Sermons of foreign Devines be better than thoſe of the *Engliſh*, what is then the reaſon that all Proteſtants abroad admire the *Engliſh* way of Preaching, in ſo much that ſome foreign Congregations (as I am credibly informed) defray the charges of the travails of their Paſtors into *England*, as well as diſpenſe with their abſence, that they may return to them inſtructed in the method of *Engliſh* Preaching.

Whether the Preaching in the Church of *Rome* be to be preferred before ours, he that hath

hath not a mind to travail into thoſe parts, may yet ſufficiently well reſolve himſelf, if he take but the pains to read a Book written by *Eraſmus* of the Art of Preaching: which whoſoever hath done or ſhall do, I verily perſwade my ſelf, he ſhall quickly be able to reckon up more follies and ridiculous paſſages, than all thoſe gathered together by the Author of the *Inquiry into the Cauſes of the Contempt of the Clergy*.

Laſtly, He that ſhall take the paines or have the curioſity to compare the Preachings generally in our *Churches* with thoſe ordinarily in the *Conventicles*, will either find them very unequally matcht, or elſe if he hath any reaſon at all, he hath reaſon to ſuſpect himſelf intolerably prejudicate. For on the one ſide, he ſhall find ſound Theology, ſtrength of Argument, gravity of Expreſſion and diſtinctneſs of Method; on the other ſide nothing more frequent than puerile and flat, oft-times rude, and ſometimes blaſphemous expreſſions, Similitudes inſtead of Arguments, and either apiſh Geſtures, or tragical Vociferations inſtead of Eloquence.

Beſides, a wiſe man may in great meaſure take an eſtimate of the wiſdom and abilities of a Preacher or Writer by the very ſubject he

he chooſes to diſcourſe on, and not only by the manner of handling it. And he that ſhall impartially apply himſelf to this little trouble, may eaſily obſerve the Sermons and Tractates of the Non-conformiſts generally, to be either about *Predeſtination*, which (beſides the danger of it amongſt the people for miſtakes) nothing but unskilfulneſs could make any man confident enough to undertake the unfolding of; or about *Union with God and Chriſt*, which themſelves confeſs to be unintelligible, and they help to make it ſo; or the *ſweetneſs*, *beauty* and *lovelineſs* of Chriſt's *Perſon*, which is ſeldome handled with any better effect, then the ſtirring up ſome ſenſual paſſion or other in the fond Auditors, as I have ſeen verified by experience.

God forbid that I ſhould charge all the Non-conformiſts with ſuch indecencies as theſe; but it is manifeſt it is ſuch kind of diſcourſes as I have intimated, that are the moſt taking and raviſhing amongſt them.

But then on the other ſide, you ſhall hear Diſcourſes of the *Nature* and *Attributes* of God, and the *reaſon of Religion* deduced thence; of the *Divine Providence*, and Arguments of *Contentment*, *Reverence*, and *Submiſſion*

miſſion inferred therefrom; of the *Eternal reaſons of Good and Evil*, and *indiſpenſable obligations to Vertue*, as the conſequence of that principle laid upon the conſciences of men; of the *nature of Faith, the neceſſity of Holineſs, of Charity, of Obedience to Governours:* all which are good and profitable, and of great weight and importance.

If we now compare the *Writings* of both parties, the difference will yet be more legible. Although it hath been obſerved of old by a Wiſe and Great man, That generally the ableſt of men have not been moſt given to writing of Books; as being loth to make themſelves Themes for fools to comment upon; but a middle ſort of men are moſt diſpoſed, and uſually have beſt ſucceſs that way, whoſe Genius is more adequate to vulgar capacities: yet let any man of competent judgement lay paſſion and prejudice aſide, and ſay, if the Writings of the Divines of this Church, both in the Controverſies of Religion and moſt other parts of Learning, have not matcht any other Profeſſion, any other Church, but extreamly overmatcht their Opponents? It were eaſie to name Men and Writings, but I conceive it needleſs in ſo clear a caſe.

2. But

2. But then for the lives of Church-men; Though I will not render evil for evil, nor retaliate the reproaches caſt upon the Sons of the Church, by ripping up the miſcarriages of the other perſwaſions: For (beſides that I have not ſo learned Chriſt,) I have obſerved ſo much of the world, that ſuch uncharitable recriminations have not only made an Apology for the Atheiſm and profaneneſs of the Age, but afford a pleaſant ſpectacle to all evil men, to behold Divines coming upon the Stage like Gladiators, and wounding and murthering one anothers reputation. To which add, that I verily hope the Lives, of the *generality*, at leaſt, of the Clergy of *England* are ſo unblameable and commendable in themſelves, that they need not the foil of other mens deformities to ſet them off or recommend them, Yet I will ſay theſe two things further in the caſe.

1. If a man be a male-content with the Government, and forſaking the Church reſort to private Aſſemblies, or if being a Clergy-man and continuing in the Church, he ſhall debauch his Office and undermine the Church which he ſhould uphold; ſuch a man may then debauch his Life too, and yet have a very charitable conſtruction amongſt the

the generality of diſſenters. And on the other ſide, if a man be of ſingular ſanctity and the moſt holy converſation, but withall zealous of the intereſt of the Church and his own duty in it, this man ſhall have worſe quarter and be more maligned by the fiery Zealots of other parties, than one that is both of a more looſe life and meaner abilities. Whence it plainly appears, that the bad lives of Clergy-men (if it were true) is but a pretext, not the true cauſe of quarrel with the Church.

2. If impertinent and phantaſtical talking of Religion be Religion, if endleſs ſcrupuloſity and ſtraining at Gnats, if cenſoriouſneſs and raſh judging our Betters and Superiours, if melancholy ſighing and complaining be true Chriſtianity, if going from Sermon to Sermon, without allowing our ſelves time to meditate on what we hear, or leiſure to inſtruct our Families; if theſe, and ſuch as theſe, are the main points of true Godlineſs, then I muſt confeſs, the Sons of the Church of *England* are not generally the moſt holy men, and the Non-conformiſts are. But if a reverent ſenſe of God, and Conſcience of keeping all his expreſs Lawes, if Juſtice, Mercy, Contentment, Humility, Patience, Peaceableneſs

neſs and Obedience to Governours, be the principal ingredients of a good life: as doubtleſs they are, if we take our meaſures either from our Saviour, the Apoſtles or Prophets: Then I do not deſpair but the Church-men may be good Chriſtians, and of far more holy lives than their accuſers, notwithſtanding all the contempt caſt upon them. For upon this Iſſue I dare challenge Malice it ſelf to be able to faſten any brand of bad life upon the generality or body of the Clergy.

I know this Age is not without ſome of the brood of *Cham*, who will take the impudence to uncover their Fathers nakedneſs, and expoſe thoſe deformities, which they ought, not only out of charity or reverence, but wiſdom alſo to conceal. And it is not to be expected that ſuch a body of men, made of the ſame fleſh and blood, and ſolicited with the ſame temptations with other men, ſhould be altogether without ſpot or blemiſh: yet I do really believe, thoſe are extream few of that number that juſtly deſerve any ſcandalous character, and alſo very inconſiderable in reſpect of the whole. And he that ſhall for the miſcarriages of a few, reflect diſhonour upon the Clergy in general, ſhall do as unrighteouſ-

ly, as he that ſhall take a downright honeſt man, and omitting his many and great vertues and innumerable good actions, only rake up and repreſent in an odious Catalogue all the follies of his youth and errors of his life. By the which artifice, the beſt man in the world, much more the beſt Society of men may be rendred odious enough. It is well enough known, that the healthfulleſt body is not without ſome humours, which if they were all drawn together, into ſome one part or member, would make an ill and dangerous ſpectacle: but whileſt they lye diſperſed in the whole maſs of blood, where there is a vaſt predominancy of the good, or elſe are lockt up in their private cells, *glandulæ* or other receptacles, till they ſhall be critically evacuated, do in the mean time, little or nothing indanger or deform ſuch a body. I need not apply this to the caſe in hand. To conclude therefore; Were there but either ſo much Charity and Humanity as ought to be in Men and Chriſtians, or ſo much unprejudicacy as becomes wiſe and good men, uſed in this matter; we ſhould inſtead of reproching the failings or miſcarriages of a few, heartily thank God for that remarkable Holineſs, Humility and Charity that is yet alive and warm in the breaſts

breaſts of ſo many of the Divines of this Church in this cold and degenerate Age. And for the reſt we ſhould think of that ſaying of *Tacitus*, *Vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu penſantur.* There will be Faults whileſt there are men in this world; but ſo long as they are not conſtant or general, at leaſt whileſt there is a prevalence of ſincere vertue, Thoſe men uſe as little Wiſdom for themſelves as Charity for their Neighbours, that in ſuch a caſe aſperſe either the Age or the Church they live in; for in all reaſon he ſhould onely *caſt the firſt ſtone that is himſelf without fault.*

CHAP. II.

Of the more remote and leſs obſerved Cauſes of the infelicity of this Church; ſuch as 1. *The Reign of Queen* Mary *and return of Popery under her in the Infancy of the Reformation.* 2. *The bad proviſion for Miniſters in Corporations,* &c. 3. *Frequent wars.* 4. *The liberty in Religion that Trade ſeems to require.* 5. *The ſecret deſigns of Atheiſts and Papiſts.*

HItherto I have only noted and refuted the Scandals and Contumelies caſt upon this Church, which how groundleſs and unreaſonable ſoever they are, yet do not a little miſchief when they are whiſpered in corners, and inſinuated in Conventicles.

I might have reckoned up ſome more of the ſame nature, and as eaſily have diſproved them; but they are either reducible to thoſe we have touched, or will fall under conſideration in due time,

I now

I now proceed from thoſe Imaginary, to inquire into and conſider of the true and real Cauſes of the preſent diſaffection to the *Engliſh* Reformation, and they will be found to be of ſeveral kinds; but I will not trouble my ſelf curiouſly to diſtinguiſh them into exact Claſſes, contenting my ſelf faithfully to relate them, and repreſent their peculiar malignant influences, And in this Chapter I will bring into view theſe five following.

1. It was the misfortune, and is the great diſadvantage of this Church, that it was not well confirmed and ſwadled in its Infancy. It is the obſervation of wiſe men, that it greatly contributes to the duration and longevity of any Society, to have a good time of Peace in its Minority, and not to have been put upon difficulties aud tryals till its limbs and joynts were ſetled and confirmed, that is, till the people were competently inured to the Laws, and the Conſtitutions by time digeſted into Cuſtoms and made natural to them. The State of *Sparta* remained intire without any conſiderable change in its Conſtitution or Laws the longeſt of any Society we have read of: And *Licurgus* the Law-giver and Founder of that Commonwealth, is thought to have taken an effectual

courſe to make it ſo durable by this ſtratagem. When he had framed the body of their Laws, he pretends occaſion of Travail to conſult the Oracle at *Delphos* about their affairs, but firſt takes an Oath of all the *Lacedæmonians* to preſerve the Laws in being inviolable till his return. Which having done, he reſolvedly never returns to them again. By this means whileſt the people were by the Religion of their Oath and a long expectation of his delayed return, for a long time uſed to the Conſtitutions he had eſtabliſhed, they grew ſo well practiſed in them, that at laſt Cuſtom had habituated and even naturalized them to them, that they became unchangeable. Agreeable hereunto is the obſervation of our own Lawyers, that the Common Law, as they call it, is never grievous to the people, and ſeldome repealed, whatever defects are in it, as Statute-Laws frequently are? becauſe long Cuſtom and Uſe hath fitted either that to the men or the men to it, that all things run eaſily and naturally that way. It is obſerved alſo by Divines, That when God Almighty gave a peculiar Body of Laws to the people of *Iſrael*, he took not onely the opportunity of their ſtraits and adverſities at their coming out of *Ægypt*, that his Inſtitutions might the more eaſily be received; but alſo kept them

V. Philon. Jud. de vita Moſis lib. 1.

them fourty years under the continual education in and exerciſe of thoſe Laws, and that in the Wilderneſs, where they were not likely to take in any other impreſſions, nor have other examples before their eyes to tempt or corrupt them. And beſides all this, in a wonderful providence he ſo ordered it, that all thoſe men that came out of *Ægypt* (except *Caleb* and *Joſhua*) and had obſerved other Cuſtoms and Laws, and ſo might be likely to give beginning to innovation, ſhould all dye before they came into the Land of *Canaan*. That by all theſe means, the Laws he gave them might take the deeper root, and ſo remain unalterable to all generations.

I cannot chooſe but obſerve one thing more to this purpoſe, That when our Bleſſed Saviour had by himſelf and his Apoſtles planted his Religion in the World, though it was ſuch a Law as ſufficiently recommened it ſelf to the minds of men by its own goodneſs, eaſineſs and reaſonableneſs, and therefore was likely to be an *everlaſting Religion*, (or Righteouſneſs) as the Prophet *Daniel* calls it; yet for more ſecurity, it pleaſed the Divine providence to reſtrain the rage of Pagans and Jews for a good while, and to give the Chriſtians above ſixty years of peace, before any conſiderable perſecu-

tion broke in upon them; that in that warm Sun it might ſpread its roots, and get ſome conſiderable ſtrength and footing in the world.

But it was the will of God, that the ſtrength of this new-born Church of *England* ſhould be early tryed. And that it might give proof of its divine extraction, it muſt, like *Hercules*, conflict with Serpents in its cradle, and undergo a ſevere perſecution, the good King *Edward* the ſixth dying immaturely, and Queen *Mary* ſucceeding him in the Throne.

By which means it came to paſs, that as this Infant-Reformation gave egregious proof of its intrinſick truth and reaſonableneſs, many ſealing it with their blood; ſo it had this diſadvantage (that we are all this while repreſenting) namely, that by reaſon of this perſecution a great number of the Miniſters and other members of this Church, were driven into other Countreys for refuge and ſhelter from the ſtorm; and there, were (as it's eaſie to imagine) tempted with novelty, and diſtracted with variety of Rites and Cuſtoms, before they were well inſtructed in the reaſons, or habituated to the practice of their own. And hereupon (as it is uſu-

ally

ally obſerved of *Engliſh* Travelers) brought home with them thoſe foreign faſhions, the fond ſingularity of which is ſtill very taking with too many to this day.

I ſay, thus it came to paſs, that thoſe that went out from us, returned not again to us when they did return, in regard that before they were well inured to the *Engliſh* Reformation, they became inamoured of the Rites of other Churches, not much conſidering whether they were better, ſo long as they were freſher and newer, nor minding that there are oft-times reaſons that make one Form neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed in one place or people, and not in another, when otherwiſe it is poſſible they may be both indifferent in themſelves, but not equally fit to the humour and cuſtom of the people, or conſonant to the Civil Conſtitutions; nor yet obſerving that many things were taken up and brought into uſe in other Churches not upon choice but neceſſity, not becauſe they were abſolutely better in themſelves, but the ſtate of affairs ſo requiring. As for inſtance; where the Reformation had not at firſt the countenance of the Civil Government, there the Reformers were conſtrained to enter into particular confederations with one another; from whence Presbyterian Government ſeems

to

to have taken its riſe. I ſay theſe Exiled *Engliſh* Proteſtants not entring into ſo deep a ſearch into the ſpecial cauſes or occaſions of thoſe different Rites and Forms they found in the places whither they fled for ſuccour, as to diſcover whether they were ſtrictly Religious or meerly Political: but obſerving ſome pretexts of Scripture to be made for them, and in proceſs of time, during their abode in thoſe parts being uſed to them, and by uſe confirmed in them; they at laſt, when they might with ſafety return to *England* again, came home laden with theſe foreign Commodities, and crying them up with a good grace, found too many Chapmen for ſuch Novelties. Thus as the children of *Iſrael*, even then when they had Bread from Heaven, Angels food, longed for the Onions and Garlick of *Ægypt*, remembering how ſweet thoſe were to them under their bitter bondage, and had upon all occaſions, and upon every pet or diſguſt, a mind to return thither: So theſe men retained as long as they lived a lingring after thoſe entertainments which they found then very pleaſant when other was denyed them; and ſo much the more, in that, as I ſaid before, they received a tincture of theſe before they had well imbibed or ſufficiently underſtood the reaſons of the Church of *England*.

And

And though theſe men are now dead, yet the Childrens Teeth are ſtill ſet on edge with the ſowre Grapes their Fathers have eaten. For thoſe perſons being conſiderable for their Zeal againſt Popery, and very much recommended to the eſteem of people at their return, by the travail and hardſhip they had underwent for the Proteſtant profeſſion, were eaſily able with great advantage to communicate their Sentiments and propagate their Prejudices amongſt the Members of this Church. Here therefore I think we may juſtly lay the firſt Scene of the Diſtractions of this Church.

2. A ſecond Cauſe of the ill-ſtate of the Church may be reckoned the bad and incompetent proviſion for a Learned and Able Miniſtry in the Corporations and generality of great Pariſhes in *England*.

It is eaſie to obſerve, that the multitudes of Opinions that deform and trouble this Church, are generally hateht and nurſed up in the Corporations, Market-Towns, and other great places; whereas the leſſer Countrey Villages are for the moſt part quiet, and peaceably comply with Eſtabliſh't Orders. And if I ſhould ſay, that not only the Diſſatisfaction with the Rites and Government of

of the Church, but alſo the Convulſions and Confuſions of State, took their Origin from the bad humours of thoſe greater Societies or Congregations of people, I ſuppoſe I ſhould ſay no more then what the obſervation of every conſiderative man will allow and confirm.

Now he that ſearching for a reaſon of this difference ſhall impute it either to the Eaſe, Fulneſs and Luxury of the former, whereby they have leiſure and curioſity to excogitate Novelties, and ſpirit and confidence to maintain and abett them, whileſt the latter tired with hard labour, neither trouble themſelves nor others, but apply themſelves to till the ground, and earn their bread with the ſweat of their brows: or to the multitude and great concourſe of people in the former, amongſt whom Notions are more eaſily ſtarted, better protected, and parties ſooner formed for the defence and diſſemination of them. He, I ſay, that diſcourſes thus, gives a true account for ſo much, but ſearches not far enough to the bottom. For had there been an able learned Orthodox Clergy ſetled in ſuch places, they by their wiſdom and vigilance, would in a great meaſure have obviated all beginnings of theſe diſorders; partly by principling the minds of men with ſound Doctrine,

Doctrine, partly convincing Gain-ſayers, and eſpecially rendering the Government of the Church lovely and venerable by their wiſe deportment.

In order therefore hereunto, there ought to have been the moſt liberal Maintenance and ingenuous Encouragement ſetled upon ſuch important places. That where the work was greateſt, and the importance moſt conſiderable, the motives to undertake it might be ſo too. To the intent that the moſt able and judicious Clergy-men might have been invited to, and ſetled upon thoſe places that moſt needed them. But contrariwiſe it is moſt viſible, that in thoſe places where moſt Skill is to be exerciſed and moſt Labour to be undertaken, there is little Revenue to encourage the Workman.

In a little obſcure Pariſh or Country Village often-times there is a well endowed Church, but in theſe great ones, generally, where the Flock is great, the Fleece is ſhorn to the Shepherds hands,, and ſo pitiful a pittance left to the Curate or Miniſter, that he can ſcarce afford himſelf Books to ſtudy, nor perhaps Bread to eat, without too ſervile a dependance upon the Benevolence of his richer Neighbours; by which means either his

his Spirit is broken with Adverſity, or the Dignity of his Office obſcured in the meanneſs of his condition, or his Influence and Authority evacuated, having neither wherewith to live charitably nor hoſpitably; or all theſe together: nay, it is well, if, to help himſelf under theſe Preſſures, he is not tempted to a ſordid Connivance at, or Complyance with all thoſe Follies and Irregularities he ſhould correct and remedy. And ſo like *Eſau, ſell his Birthright* (the Dignity of the Prieſthood) *for a meſs of Pottage.*

Now how this comes to paſs, that the greateſt Cures have generally the leaſt Maintenance, is eaſily found; for it is well enough known that in thoſe times when the Popes had a Paramount power in *England*, a great part of the Tythes and Revenues of Churches were by their extravagant Authority raviſht from them, and applyed to the Abbies and Monaſteries, and this like an Oſtraciſme fell commonly upon the greateſt Pariſhes, as having the beſt Revenues (and conſequently the more deſirable Booty to thoſe hungry Caterpillers) and ſo the Iſſue was, that the richeſt Churches were made the pooreſt, in many ſuch places little more than the Perquiſites and *Eaſter-Offerings* being left to thoſe that ſhall diſcharge the Cure.

And

And though afterwards theſe ſuperſtitious Societies were diſſolved, yet the Tythes being not thought fit to be reſtored to their reſpective Churches, the conſequence is, that thoſe places which ought for the good both of Church and State to be well provided for, are too often ſupplyed by the moſt inconſiderable Clergy-men, or thoſe men made ſo by the places they ſupply. My meaning is, that by reaſon of the incompetent Legal Maintenance provided for ſuch Miniſters, the people have it in their power either to corrupt an eaſie and neceſſitous man, or to ſtarve out a worthy and inflexible one; and ſo whatever the humour of the place ſhall be, it is uncontroulable and incurable.

To remedy theſe inconveniences, it hath of late pleaſed His Majeſty and the Parliament, to make ſome proviſion ſo far as concerns the City of *London*, and it is hoped the ſame wiſdom will in time take like care of other great places in the ſame condition; for till ſome ſuch courſe be taken, it will be in vain to expect that the Church of *England* or the beſt Laws of Religion that can be deviſed, ſhould either obtain juſt Veneration or due Effect.

3. I account the late Wars another Cauſe of the bad eſtate of the Church and Religion amongſt us. Which may perhaps ſeem the more ſtrange, ſince when men put their Lives moſt in danger, one would think they ſhould then take the moſt care to put their ſouls out of danger. Beſides it hath been the wiſdom of moſt Nations to deſire the countenance and incouragement of Religion in all their Martial undertakings. The *Romans* made great ſcruple of enterprizing any thing of that nature, till either their Prieſts (from inſpection of the Sacrifice) or ſome other of their Pagan Oracles had given them the ſignal. And the *Turkiſh Mufty* or High-Prieſt muſt give the *Prime Viſier* his bleſſing before he enters upon the buſineſs. Whether it be that men indeed believe God Almighty to be the *Lord of Hoſts*, and to give Victory to thoſe that ſtand beſt approved with him; or whether it be onely that they apprehended that the opinion of being under God's favour, gives reputation to their Arms; inſpires their men with valour and reſolution, and diſheartens their enemies; or upon whatever conſideration: it is certain the matter of Fact is true, and that Religion is of great efficacy in Warlike exploits.

It

It may, I ſay, therefore ſeem the more ſtrange, that War ſhould be injurious to that which it ſeeks to for countenance and encouragement. But moſt ſtrange of all, that Enemies abroad ſhould make men quarrel with their Friends at home; that Iron and Steel, Wounds and Blows ſhould make men tender-conſcienced; that thoſe who can find in their hearts to ſhed the blood of Men, of Chriſtians, and of their Brethren without remorſe, ſhould be ſo queaſie ſtomached as to ſcruple every punctilio and nicety in Eccleſiaſtick matters. And yet he that narrowly conſiders the riſe and progreſs of our Diſorders, will find that the diſtractions of the Church have kept pace with thoſe of the State; and as before the War our Religious diſputes and diſſentions were but few to what they came to afterwards, ſo by every War, they have ſenſibly increaſed and grown upon us. For the proof of which I will deſire the Reader to look no further back than to either of the Wars between this *Kingdom* and the *States* of the *Low Countreys*; and if he do not obſerve the contempt of Religion to be greater, and the ſtate of the *Church* worſe at the end of each of them than at the beginning, I will confeſs my ſelf too ſevere an Interpreter of the effects of War. How

War ſhould ſo much debauch the Spirit of a Nation is not my buſineſs to enquire; yet theſe four things following ſeem to give ſome light into it.

1. There are certain Doctrines and Opinions found to be very uſeful in War, and to animate men in Encounters, that are utterly contrary both to Truth and Peace. Such as that of the Fatal Neceſſity of all things; which in the natural conſequence of it is deſtructive of all Vertue. Yet however, the *Turks* find it of great conſequence in their Wars, and it ſerves to animate their *Janizaries* to run deſperately upon the very mouths of Cannons. And this ſame perſwaſion, or one very like it, was highly cryed up and found ſerviceable to all bad purpoſes of our late Civil Wars.

2. Thoſe that have occaſion to uſe mens Courage, are forced to be content to wink at their Debaucheries, for fear they ſhould emaſculate the ſpirits of thoſe they imploy, and turn the edge of their mettle. So Drunkenneſs, Whoring, Swearing and Blaſphemy ordinarily paſs under a very eaſie Cenſure amongſt Souldiers. Men whoſe hearts are eagerly ſet upon a War are apt to permit thoſe whoſe hearts and hands they uſe in it, to be afraid

afraid of nothing, that ſo they may be fearleſs of the Enemy. And when the War is over, theſe Extravagancies are not laid down with their Arms: For when Lewdneſs hath gotten a habit, and mens Foreheads are brazen in their wickedneſs, they will not receive a check from diſarmed Religion; but rather harden themſelves againſt it, and account that their Enemy which they are ſure will not give Countenance to the Vices they are now ſetled in. In ſhort; War lets looſe the Reins and incourages men to ſin; And when the War is over, theſe men are turned over to the Church for cure of their Souls, as to the Hoſpital for their bodily wounds. But no man will wonder if theſe men have no great kindneſs to the Church which forbids them the liberty and pleaſure the Camp allowed them; eſpecially if it alſo preſcribe them a ſevere courſe, and make their Conſciences ſmart for the ſins they have formerly practiſed with pleaſure, and have yet a mind to.

3. War hath its peculiar Laws different vaſtly from thoſe of the Church and of every well ordered Common-wealth too. The hazards and neceſſities of War make many things lawful there, that are otherwiſe abominable; as to make no difference betwixt

things Sacred and Prophane, to pull down Churches, and do other ſuch horrid things as nothing but War can palliate. And from hence it is too ordinary for men to be led on by Cuſtome ſo as in time they forget the Differences of things altogether; and the Church and the Stable, the Prieſt and the Peaſant are all one to them.

4. The meer diſuſe of Religion and its Offices antiquates the obligations of it with many. When men have long heard the noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, they are deaf to the ſtill voice of the Goſpel; and after long converſation with Iron and Steel, the Weapons of the Spiritual Warfare are of no force with them. Then, inſtead of Prayer men learn to curſe and ſwear, and by diſuſe of Religion grow to forget it and ſlight it; and from not going to Church for a time (upon neceſſity) grow to plead a privilege not to come at it at all.

Since then the Sword doth ſo much prejudice to the Gown, and the Camp to the Church, it is no wonder when we have been ſo often ingaged of late in the one, that the other hath been and is in no better condition.

4. I would in the next place, might I do it without

without offence, take the boldneſs to ſay, that the vaſt increaſe of Trade doth uſually reflect ſome inconvenience upon Eccleſiaſtical affairs. I mean no hurt either to any mens Perſons or Intereſt, I envy no mens Proſperity and Wealth; It is far from my thoughts to wiſh the Tide of Trade dammed up: for I confeſs it is hugely advantageous to the publick, as well as to private perſons in many reſpects. It much raiſes the parts and ſharpens the wits of a Nation by foreign converſation, to which ſome apply that paſſage of the Prophet *Daniel*, Chap. 12. 4. *Many ſhall paſs to and fro, and knowledge ſhall be increaſed.*

It opens a paſſage to the diſcovery of other Countreys, and of the works of God and Man, of Nature and of Art.

It is the great Incentive and the great Inſtrument of humane Society; it makes all Mankind of one body, and by mutual intercourſe to ſerve the occaſions, ſupply the needs, and miniſter to the delight and entertainment one of another.

It inlarges the Minds of men as well as their Fortunes; inſomuch that any Nation is unpolite, unbred, and half barbarous without it.

It inures men to hardſhip and danger, and inſtructs them in ſubtilty and all the Arts of living, and ſelf ſecurity.

It adds much to the beauty, power and ſtrength of a Nation, and to the riches and revenue of the Prince.

Yet all this notwithſtanding, I muſt crave leave to ſay, that the Inlargement of Trade hath uſually been attended with as much Latitude of Conſcience, and the heat of that with as much coldneſs and indifferency in Religion. It is commonly obſerved to introduce great diverſity of Opinions, and conſequently to abate of mens Zeal for, and Reverence of, an Uniformity in what was before eſtabliſht. For men by converſing much abroad or with Strangers, get a tincture of the Humours and Perſwaſions, of the Cuſtoms and Sentiments of thoſe Perſons with whom, and places where, they have to do. And this is moſt remarkable true of the *Engliſh*, whoſe temper is not ſo ſtubborn and inflexible as that of ſome other People, nor ſo faſtuoſe and contemptuous of other mens Opinions and Practices. Their good nature prompts to look and think favourably upon ſuch things as they ſee in requeſt with others;

and

and from hence they proceed to admiration and at laſt to affect the novelty; and then they bring over with them and ſet to ſale at home many a new fangle amongſt other vendible commodities.

The wiſe Law-giver of the *Lacedemonians*, of whom I have had heretofore occaſion to ſpeak, in contemplation of this danger, and that the Laws and Government might not be diſturbed with Novelty, abſolutely forbad Trade or Traffick, and ſo much as travailing into other Countreys, leſt the Citizens ſhould barter away their own Laws and Cuſtoms for thoſe of other Cities. But thanks be to God, there is no neceſſity of having recourſe to ſuch a violent Remedy; the Laws of our Religion do both admit of, and direct and govern Commerce, and the reaſonableneſs of our Chriſtian Religion in general, and of the *Engliſh* Reformation in particular is ſuch, as that it may be well hoped they may rather gain than loſe Proſelytes by being confronted with any other Inſtitutions, and allure conſiderate men to the embracing of them, whileſt ſome lighter and incogitant perſons may be betrayed by their Curioſity. All the Uſe therefore that I make of this Obſervation concerning Trade is, That ſince there is ſome danger to Religion thereby, all

thoſe that do not make a God of the World, and take Gain for Godlineſs, will think theſe three things following to be reaſonable.

1. That ſince it is plain, the ſame Means will not preſerve Uniformity in Religion, nor conſerve the Reverence and Happineſs of the Church in a Nation vaſtly addicted to Foreign Commerce, as would do where the more ſimple way of Agriculture was attended to (as it was amongſt the *Spartans* and this Nation formerly) that therefore there may be ſuch Laws provided, and ſuch care taken as that the one be not diſcouraged, nor the other corrupted.

2. That every man will not onely take care to inform himſelf in the grounds of his own Profeſſion of Religion, but alſo have ſo much Charity towards the Governours of his own Countrey and this Church, as to think them both as wiſe and as honeſt as in other places; that by both theſe his Reaſon may be inſtructed, and his Affections ſomewhat compoſed againſt every aſſault of Novelty from other mens Opinions or Practices.

3. That at leaſt we will not think it juſt to impute all the Diſtractions of Mens Minds and Quarrels againſt the Church to the badneſs

neſs of its Conſtitution, ſince this point of Trade hath ſuch influence as we ſee both in the Nature of the thing and in the viſible Effects of it.

5. It muſt not be omitted that both Papiſt and Atheiſt, though upon ſeveral grounds combine their Malice againſt this Church, and uſe all their ſeveral Intereſts and Endeavours to render it as contemptible as theyca n.

For the former,

Manet altâ mente repôſtum
Judicium Paridis, ſpretæq; injuria formæ.

We know they remember the ſlur we gave them in our Reformation; they are well aware that the decent Order, the Dignity and ancient Gravity of this Church, reproves and ſhames the Pageantry of theirs; They forget not how often the eminent Abilities of our Church-men have baffled theirs; therefore they are to be reckoned upon as immortal Enemies. They know, nothing ſtands ſo much in the way of their Deſigns as the Church of *England*. This hath the countenance of the Laws, the ſupport of Reaſon, the favour of Antiquity, the recommendation

tion of Decency. They therefore can eaſily frame themſelves to a complaiſance towards all other Sects, becauſe they deſpiſe them; but here *oderunt quos metuunt:* their fears and dangers by this, provoke their endeavours, inflame their anger, and ſuffer them not ſo much as to diſſemble their ſpite againſt it. It is well enough known, how under the diſguiſe of Quakers and other names, they have undermined its reputation and given it what diſturbance they can; how by their Inſinuations into ſome looſe or weaker perſons they ſeek to weaken its powers and draw off her numbers; how they have furniſhed others with Arguments to impugn it, and ſubaided all unquiet ſpirits againſt her. They that ſcruple nothing themſelves, nor will ſuffer any to ſcruple any thing in their own Communion, can teach people to be very nice and ſqueamiſh in the Church of *England*. They that are altogether for a blind Obedience at home, preach up tenderneſs of Conſcience abroad; and when an Implicite Faith will do well enough in *Spain* or *Italy*, *&c.* yet in *England* nothing muſt content men but Infallible Certainty, and that in the moſt circumſtantial and inconſiderable matters.

Then for the Atheiſts; They conſcious of

of the odiouſneſs of their pretences (though of late arrived at greater impudence than formerly) think it not ſafe to laugh at all Religions at once, though they equally abhor all. Therefore leſt they ſhould ingage too many enemies at once, they deal by Retail, and expoſe to ſcorn the ſeveral Parties of Chriſtians one after another. But to be ſure, the better any Perſwaſion is, the more induſtriouſly they ſet themſelves to depreſs it; as knowing well, if they can bring that into Contempt, they may be ſecure of the other, which muſt one time or other fall of themſelves by reaſon of the unſoundneſs of their Foundations. Beſides it ſeems ſomething below them to ſet their wit againſt a Fanatick, they muſt have higher game, and their Jeſts go off more piquantly when they gratifie the popular envy, by being level'd againſt that which hath a great ſtock of Reputation, and the countenance of publick Laws,

Theſe blind Beetles that roſe out of filth and excrement, and now buz about the world, hope, not onely to cover their ſhame, but to increaſe their Party daily by the diviſions of Chriſtians; and therefore labour to inflame the Cauſes, to provoke mens Paſſions and exaſperate their minds one againſt another.

ther. They ſcurrilouſly traduce all that is ſerious, and ſtudy Religion onely to find out flaws in it. And what they cannot do by manly Diſcourſe, they endeavour by Buffoonry. In ſhort, It is their manner to dreſs the beſt Religion in the world in a phantaſtical and ridiculous habit, that Boyes may laugh at it, and weak people be brought out of conceit with it, and their Worſhips made merry with the Comedy.

Now ſince the Church of *England* is beſet with all theſe Enemies and under the aforeſaid Diſadvantages, it is no wonder if the felicity and ſucceſs of it be not a little diſturbed. It was noted amongſt the Felicities of old *Rome*, as that which gave it the opportunity of growing up to ſo vaſt a Greatneſs, That till it had by degrees ſubdued all its Neighbours, and was now match for all the World, it had never but one Enemy at once to encounter. Whileſt this Church in its firſt times had onely thoſe of the Church of *Rome* to conflict with, it eaſily triumphed over them and maintained its Peace and Dignity at home: but that now under the Circumſtances I have repreſented in the five foregoing Particulars it bears up ſo well as it doth,

doth, is an illuſtrious argument of its Strength and ſoundneſs of Conſtitution; and they are very ſevere and uncharitable perſons that reckon its Enemies and Miſfortunes in the number of its Vices or Faults.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the more immediate Cauſes of the Diſtractions of the Church of England; *ſuch as,* 1. *Raſhneſs of popular Judgement.* 2. *Judaiſm.* 3. *Prejudice,* 4. *Want of true Chriſtian Zeal, in the generality of its Members.*

COming now in this Chapter to inquire into the immediate Cauſes of the Evils we groan under, I do not ſee how it is poſſible to be avoided, but that in touching this ſore I muſt make ſome body or other ſmart. And therefore I beſpeak ſo much candour of the Reader that he will believe it is not any delight I take to rake in the wounds of my Brethren and fellow-Chriſtians; but that it is meer compaſſion to the Souls of men, and good will to the publick Peace, and nothing elſe, that prompts me to this undertaking. For had any other ends ſwayed with me, I could better have purſued them in ſilence and privacy, or at leaſt in the choice of ſome other

other ſubject than this which is ſo tender and tickliſh. But conſcious of my own ſincerity in the undertaking, and in confidence of a benign interpretation, I proceed.

1. And Firſt, I perſwade my ſelf that it will be manifeſt to any conſiderative and impartial perſon, that a great part of the averſation to the Church of *England*, ariſes from that which is the conſtant and known Adverſary of every thing that is generous and excellent, namely popular Raſhneſs and Injudiciouſneſs.

When weak perſons judge of the Determinations and Counſels of wiſer men, and thoſe that pierce no further than the meer ſurface of things, paſs a Verdict upon thoſe whoſe Reaſons are profound and deep; there can be no good Iſſue expected. It is certain there are many men of honeſt Hearts, who yet have *not ſenſes exerciſed* (as the phraſe of the Apoſtle is) whoſe Intellectuals are either clouded by an unhappy Conſtitution of Body, or were never well opened and enlarged by Education and Study. Thoſe generally not being ſenſible of their own infirmity, nor knowing how little that which they underſtand is, compared with what they are ignorant of, are ready to think there is no larger Sphere

Sphere of Knowledge than that which themſelves move in; and by reaſon that they do *ad pauca reſpicere, facilè pronunciant*, not foreſeeing the difficulties, eaſily come to a concluſion, and cenſure all that complies not with their own meaſures.

It's eaſie to obſerve men hugging their own Phancies, and entertaining with ſcorn and contempt things above their capacity, or out of the rode of their meditations. I by no means commend the zeal of that Biſhop, *Virgilius* by name, who became a Martyr for the opinion that there were *Antipodes*, though it was demonſtrably true, and the contrary impoſſible. But I obſerve thence, how ſevere and raſh a bolt folly will diſcharge. And I little doubt, but that if a man ſhould aſſert the mobility of the Earth, or ſome other ſuch opinion (which yet the generality of the Learned are agreed in,) and do it with the like conſtancy that *Virgilius* did, (if he had the people for his Judges) he would be in danger of the ſame Fate.

But to come nearer my purpoſe; It is an Obſervation, not more antient than true, That the ſame thing ſeldom pleaſes the many and the few; Wiſe men generally take middle

middle Counſels, as finding by Experience, not onely Peace but Truth for the moſt part to be there placed. The Vulgar contrariwiſe are altogether for Extreams, and when one Extream diſguſts them, run violently to the other without ſtop or ſtay. Οἱ ἐν μέσῳ ὄντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν κτείνονται, ſaid the Hiſtorian, The middle opinion is condemned by both extreams, and thoſe that ſtand by it, (like thoſe that go about to part a fray) receive blows from both ſides.

Eraſmus, the glory of his Time and Countrey, for the ſagacity of his wit and ſimplicity of his temper, becauſe he came not up to the height of either of the then contending Parties (though he was admired by the Wiſer) was mortally hated, reproched and perſecuted by the Vulgar of both Parties.

It is not much to the honour of Mr. *Calvin*, that he is ſaid to have written to *Bucer* who was employed in the *Engliſh* Reformation, That he ſhould take care to avoid *moderate* Counſels in Religion. In which advice he complyed but too much with the humour of the Vulgar, eſpecially of this Nation; at leaſt if the obſervation of a witty Writer of the laſt Age be well taken. But perhaps it is not the Levity, but the Spirit

and Vigor and natural Courage of the people, that middle Counſels are not acceptable to them: but however, it is eaſie to remember, that when in the late Times ſome diſguſts were taken at the publick management of affairs, no Propoſition or Expedient would atone the fault, or propitiate the people, but the utter Subverſion of the Government. When Popery diſpleaſes, we think our ſelves never ſafe till we are run as far the other way; and again when thoſe that have been at the higheſt pitch of Fanaticiſm, ſuſpect their ſtanding, and have a new qualm come over them, there is then no remedy, no ſafety, no Ark but the Church of *Rome*.

Now the Church of *England* cutting by a thread (as it were) between both theſe Extreams, eſcapes not a ſevere Cenſure on either hand. Thoſe of the Church of *Rome* cannot but confeſs, that all is good in our Liturgy, onely they ſay it is defective in many things that they have a great value for; Proteſtants on the other ſide generally acknowledge the main to be good, but ſome things they account redundancies, which they would have taken away; And ſo between them both they give a glorious Teſtimony to this Church as guilty of the faults of neither Extream, whileſt yet ſhe is accuſed of both.

But

But that which I chiefly intend is this; That a great part of men have not their Minds elevated above the Horizon of their Bodies, nor take an eſtimate of any thing, but by its impreſſion upon their Senſes. From whence it muſt needs follow, that whatever moſt powerfully ſtrikes them, muſt alſo be moſt admired by ſuch perſons, and nothing elſe.

Now the Liturgy of our Church being compoſed plainly, gravely and modeſtly, no turgid or ſwelling expreſſions, no Novelty of phraſe or method, no luxuriancy of wit or phancy, ſeems therefore dull and flat to ſuch mens apprehenſions. And on the other ſide, ſuch Prayers as are occaſionally conceived and uttered by men of hot tempers (like themſelves) with a torrent of words, and in a melting tone, ſtrike them with great admiration, and almoſt tranſport them. Inſomuch that they are ready to conclude (without more ado) the former to be a cold, formal Service, but theſe latter to be the very Dictates and Impulſes, the Breathings of the Holy Spirit.

And ſo for Preaching; Thoſe Divines that deliver themſelves gravely and conſide-

rately, that take care to *ſpeak the words of truth and ſoberneſs*, that endeavour calmly and modeſtly to enlighten the minds of their Hearers, ſeem to ſuch people heavy and unedifying. But if there be a ſort of heady and incogitant Preachers, that have more heat than light, that thunder in mens ears with a ſtentorian noiſe, and make uſe of ſuch dreadful expreſſions as raiſe the humours and paſſions of the body, or ſuch ſoft ſimilitudes as demulce and mitigate them, or ſuch myſtical repreſentations as tranſport their imaginations and confound them; thoſe ſeem mighty-powerful-ſoul-ſaving-Preachers. Who ſees not that this muſt needs be a mighty diſadvantage to the Church of *England*, when Devotions ſhall be eſteemed by their *noiſe* and not by their *weight*, and Sermons tryed not by their *light* but *heat*?

But if to all this, Truth and falſhood alſo, and that in the moſt ſublime points, and, which is more, Expediency it ſelf muſt be decided at Vulgar Tribunals, ſo that there ſhall not be that Doctrine ſo profound or nice, which every man will not take upon him to determine, nor that Reaſon ſo ſubtle, which the craſſeſt minds ſhall not pretend to underſtand, nor that Rule or Art of Government, which ſhall not fall under vulgar cogni-

cognizance; if every mans Mind become the Standard and Touchſtone of every Truth: it is impoſſible (upon the ſuppoſitions, before laid) but theremuſt be diſſentions, diſputes and diſtractions in ſuch a Church, and yet neither the Doctrine, Diſcipline, Liturgy, nor Miniſters thereof be to blame. For unleſs the *Reformers* of ſuch a Society be no wiſer than the *Vulgar*, and the Clergy and Governours and all Learned men have the ſame ſentiments with the people; unleſs, I ſay, all could be alike *wiſe* or alike *weak*, (where all will be alike Judges) it is abſolutely impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe.

Thoſe therefore of the Church of *Rome* have a cure for this; They appropriate all Judgement to the Clergy, and deal with the reſt of Mankind as Sots and Ideots, not permitting them to read the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, leſt they ſhould grow too wiſe to be governed; nay, they will not allow them to be maſters of common ſenſe, but require them to believe the moſt contradictory Propoſitions, and make that an Article of Faith which a man may confute by his Fingers ends. This is an admirable way to wean them from their own Underſtanding, to unlearn them Diſputes, and to exerciſe them to believe in and obey their Rulers.

This way makes the people *Sheep* indeed but ſilly ones God-wot.

But the Church of *England* hath no ſuch Antidote of Diſputes and Diviſions as this is. She makes not herſelf the Miſtreſs of mens Faith, or impoſes upon their Underſtandings; She teacheth that our Saviour hath delivered the Mind of God touching the points of neceſſary Belief or eſſential to Salvation fully and plainly, to the capacity of every conſidering man that will uſe the means; and in other leſſer matters debatable amongſt Chriſtians, ſhe allows a judgement of Diſcretion. Onely ſince the Peace of the Church often depends upon ſuch points as Salvation doth not, and ſince in many of thoſe, every man is not a competent Judge, but muſt either be in danger of being deceived himſelf and of troubling others, or of neceſſity muſt truſt ſome body elſe wiſer than himſelf: She recommends in ſuch a caſe as the ſafer way for ſuch private perſons to comply with publick Determinations, and in ſo adviſing, ſhe joyntly conſults the peace of the Church and the quiet of mens Conſciences. So all that ſhe challenges is a Reverence, not a blind Obedience. And if after all this, ſome people will be fooliſh, and proud, and contentious, ſhe hath no further Remedy, than

to

to declare them guilty of Sin and Contumacy, and that not ſufficing, to caſt them out of her Communion. But when all this is done, men may be peeviſh and wilful, and render the State of that Church unhappy, whoſe Conſtitution is neither guilty of Tyranny nor Remiſneſs.

Now if it ſhall be objected to this Diſcourſe, That this cauſe from the conſideration of the Folly and Injudiciouſneſs of men is too general, and will equally extend to all other Reformed Churches as well as our own, and eſpecially that this might have brought forth all the Evil we complain of, and impute to it, in the former Age as well as now, for as much as the generality of people were not much wiſer then, than now. To this I anſwer in two points.

1. If other Reformed Churches have not found the effects of Ignorance and Arrogance joyned together as well as we (which doubtleſs they have done more or leſs) it is not to be aſcribed to the happineſs of their Conſtitutions, but to the unhappineſs of their outward Circumſtances. Their Poverty, Oppreſſion, Perſecution, or being ſurrounded with common Enemies, hath probably prevailed upon them to lay aſide or ſmother their

private Opinions, and to check their animosities, more than our Gratitude to the Almighty for our Eaſe and Peace and Plenty and Liberty hath done upon us. Who knoweth not that the Church of *Corinth* firſt needed the ſevere check of an Apoſtle for their wantonneſs and diviſions, that *one was of* Paul, *another of* Apollos, *&c.* And who can give a more probable account of this their Luxuriancy, than from the riches, eaſe, plenty and liberty of that City? Or who hath not obſerved, that whileſt the Primitive Chriſtians were in Adverſity ſurrounded with Enemies and under pagan perſecuting Emperours, ſo long they had one heart and mind, they ſubmited their private phancies and peculiar ſentiments to publick ſafety; but the ſame conſtituted Churches quickly broke out into Quarrels and Factions, as ſoon as a warm Sun of Proſperity, ſhone upon them? We have reaſon accordingly not to charge our unhappineſs upon our Religion, nor our troubles upon our Proſperity but to lay them at the right door, of our Folly and Weakneſs.

2, That theſe Evils broke not out in our Churches ſooner, ſince the ſeeds of them were ſown long ago, is due to the joy and contentment that men generally took at their firſt emerging

emerging out of the darkneſs and ſuperſtitions of the Church of *Rome* by the Reformation, which was proportionable to the diliverance; and ſo great, that for a time it ſuffered them not to be very ſolicitous about little diſputes or ſcrupuloſities. Like the people of *Greece* when the *Romans* at the *Iſthmian* Games by a publick Herald pronounced them and their Countrey free, they forgot the contentions they came together about, and uſed to be infinitely taken with. But when the Novelty of this great bleſſing was over, Proteſtants forgat the great and intolerable burdens they had eſcaped, and then began ſcrupulouſly to weigh every petty inconvenience; and (by the goodneſs of God) not having a publick Enemy to unite them, quarrel amongſt themſelves. This therefore muſt be admitted as one cauſe of our unhappineſs.

2. That which I would aſſign as a ſecond cauſe, I know not well what name to give to it: But for want of a better expreſſion, I will adventure to ſay, That a great part of this Nation having been leavened with *Jewiſh Superſtition or Jewiſh Traditions*, hath thereby been indiſpoſed to an uniform reception of, and perſeverance in the Reformation of Religion held forth by the Church. How this ſowre leaven ſhould

ſhould get in amongſt us is not very eaſie to determine: Some Stories would incline a man to think that it had been in the veins of this Countrey, ever ſince it firſt received the Chriſtian Faith; for the greateſt difficulty *Anſtin* the Monk found here, was to bring the Inhabitants from the obſervation of *Eaſter*, and ſome other Rites according to the manner of the *Jewiſh* and *Eaſtern* Churches, to that of the *Roman* and *Weſtern*; and the doing it (as the Story tells us) coſt the lives of twelve hundred Monks, who it ſeems ſtubbornly oppoſed his Innovation. Which (by the way) is a good argument that this Church owes not its firſt Chriſtianity to the Church of *Rome* or this Monaſtick Apoſtle, as they would perſwade us; ſince it is plain by this paſſage, that he made our Anceſtors onely *Romaniſts*, but found them Chriſtians before, and perhaps of a better and more generous race of Religion than that he ingraffed upon the old ſtock. But I will make no uſe of this; for perhaps we may find the riſe of this *Judaiſm* nearer hand, if we obſerve that the great Patriarchs of the Non-conformity, ſuch as *Cartwright*, *Ainſworth*, *H. Broughton* and others, were great Students of the *Rabbinical Writings*, and the main of their Learning lay that way; and as by this ſort of Study (which was rare in thoſe

thoſe dayes,). they got the reputation of great *Rabbies*, ſo perhaps they might not onely by this means be bewitched with the *Jewiſh* fancies themſelves, but propagate their unhappy Sentiments through their followers to this generation.

But howſoever it came to paſs, the matter of Fact will appear undeniably true, That a vein of *Judaiſm* runs through the whole Body of the diſſenters from the Church of *England*. Of which I will give ſome Inſtances.

And the *firſt* ſhall be their grand *Hypotheſis*, *That nothing is lawful in the Service of God, but what is expreſly preſcribed in Scripture.* This is the Characteriſtical Doctrine of that Party, and in confidence of the truth of which, they cry out of us for uncommanded Rites, and humane Inventions and little leſs than Idolatry. Now whoſoever well conſiders this Tenet, will find it ſo irrational in it ſelf, ſo ſervile and deſtructive of all Chriſtian Liberty, and making ſo ill reflections upon the Goodneſs of God (as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter) that it is not to be imagined how it ſhould enter into the minds of men, much leſs find ſuch entertainment and ſo zealous patronage, amongſt ſo many honeſt and devout men,

men, were it not, that they ſtudied the Old Teſtament better than the New, and graffed their Chriſtianity upon the ſtock of *Judaiſm.* And the caſe muſt be after this manner. They conſidering and obſerving how punctually God preſcribed ſome very little matters touching the Temple and National Worſhip of the *Jews* in the Law of *Moſes,* carry this notion along with them to the New Teſtament, and thence inferr, That Chriſt-Jeſus muſt needs have alſo as punctually determined all the Rituals of the Chriſtian Worſhip: Otherwiſe he *is not faithful in his houſe as* Moſes *was in his*, (for that Scripture is brought to prove it.) That all abſolutely Neceſſaries are ſo determined by our Saviour we readily grant them, and that all thoſe Rites that are preſcribed by him are neceſſary to be obſerved, we will yield them; but that nothing is lawful but what is to be found ſo preſcribed, we utterly deny, and they will never be able to prove. Nor indeed would they ever have been led by any principle of reaſon to think of or expect ſuch a thing, had it not been by the aforeſaid prejudice. But haveing gotten that notion into their heads, they will fancy the New Teſtament to comply with it, or writhe it to their ſenſe, though with never ſo much violence.

Of

Of affinity with the former is another Notion of theirs, *That all Princes and Law-givers are bound to conform the Municipal Laws of their ſeveral Dominions to the Inſtitutions of* Moſes; and where this is not done, *ſc.* where Princes make other Deciſions of Caſes, or appoint other Puniſhments than that Law allows, they are in danger to have their Conſtitutions declared null, and themſelves irreligious.

This is a miſtake as wide as the former, highly injurious to Sovereign Princes and dangerous to Kingdoms and States, in a great meaſure diſanulling the publick Laws, and ſtripping the Governours of all proper Legiſlative power.

But that which I conſider now in this miſtake, is not the conſequence and Effects, but the riſe and Cauſes of it, which ſeems to be no other than the fondneſs the *Jews* had to their Laws, and which they expreſs in their Writings, as if thoſe Laws God gave them by *Moſes*, were not onely beſt for them, but beſt in themſelves alſo. The foundation of which Error is both detected and confuted by this conſideration, That God was not onely the God, but the temporal Prince of the

the *Jews* in a peculiar manner, ſo as he is not of any other people in the world; he calls himſelf their King, appoints his Lieutenants and Vicegerents, divides his Subjects their Inheritance, gives them Laws, takes up a Reſidence amongſt them, appoints their way of Addreſs to him for Judgement and reſolution of weighty and extraordinary Caſes, and reſerves many Caſes to himſelf, and ſometimes inflicts Puniſhments by his own hand. Any man that conſiders theſe things well, will never go about to make thoſe Laws oblige other Nations, or require neceſſarily all Princes to conform their Policies to that of *Judæa*, till he can perſwade himſelf that every Nation hath the peculiar Privilege of the *Jews*, and that every Civil Government is or ought to be a Theocracy.

A *third* Inſtance ſhall be their notion of *Excommunication*, which they hold *muſt be denounced by a Synod or Presbytery, and the Prince as well as the people muſt be ſubject to the ſentence.* And this againſt all Rules of Government, the Prerogatives of Princes and the Peace of Kingdoms. But becauſe it was thus amongſt the *Jews*, or at leaſt ſome of the Writers of that Nation ſay ſo, (whether true or falſe is not well conſidered) therefore this is the onely Goſpel way.

I muſt

I muſt by no means omit their Superſtition about the *Lords Day*, which muſt be called a *Sabbath* too, though ſuch name is no where given it either in the New Teſtament or in any ancient Writer that I know of; but contrariwiſe alwayes oppoſed to it. But that's the leaſt matter. The *Lords Day* with theſe men muſt have all the nicety of obſervation that the *Jewiſh Sabbath* had; and which is yet worſe, *ſuch obſervation thereof* made one of the *principal parts of Religion*. And becauſe God appointed the *Sabbath* amongſt the *Jews* to *be a ſign between him and them*, and to diſtinguiſh them from all other people, therefore in the New Teſtament the ſuperſtitious obſervation of the *Lords Day* muſt be the *principal Character of a godly man*. He that conſiders well this matter can find no original of it but perfect Judaiſm introduced into Chriſtianity. And methinks any unprejudiced man ſhould be convinced of this by this one obſervation, That this kind of obſervation of the *Lords Day* diſtinguiſhes this ſort of *Engliſh* Proteſtants from all other Proteſtants and Chriſtians in the whole world beſides; It being in no Church or Countrey obſerved with that punctuality and in that Sabbatical manner, as by thoſe perſons. Whence it's plain, that ſuch

ſuch obſervation thereof could neither be derived from Chriſtianity in general, nor from Proteſtantiſm as ſuch, but meerly from a Jewiſh tincture theſe perſons have received.

A *fifth* Inſtance ſhall be their Doctrine of *Abſolute Predeſtination.* Which though it be not peculiar to theſe men, yet is ſo univerſally and ardently imbraced by the men of that way, as is ſcarce to be parallel'd. And he that ſeeks the Source of ſo odd an Opinion, can in my opinion pitch no where more probably, than upon the abſolute Decree of God to favour the poſterity of *Abraham* for his ſake. It pleaſed God to beſtow the good Land of *Canaan* upon the deſcendants of that good man, and he reſolved and declared he would doe it without reſpect to their deſerts: now this is made a ſufficient ground to conclude, That accordingly as he diſpoſed in this Temporal affair, ſo he will proceed by the ſame way of Prerogative in determining the Eternal Doom of Men; Though the New Teſtament never ſo often aſſure us that at the great day God will Judge the World in righteouſneſs, and without reſpect of perſons render to every one according to his works.

I will

I will add but one more, which is their *ſuperſtitious obſervation and interpretation of Prodigies.* To this a great number of this Party are ſo addicted, that every unuſual Accident, every new Appearance in the World, be it in Heaven above or in the Earth below, is preſently commented upon and applications made of the errand of it: though for the moſt part with Folly as manifeſt as is the Uncharitableneſs; yet with confidence as if it were undoubtedly true, that God governed the affairs of the World by as viſible a Providence now, as he did heretofore in the Land of *Judæa*; and the remembrance of what he did *then*, ſeems to be the onely imaginable account of this conceit of theirs *now*. Whereas (beſides the irreverence towards the Prerogative of God that this phancy is guilty of, in tying the Almighty to one Method) there is plain reaſon why ſuch a viſible diſpenſation of Providence was expedient under the Old Teſtament, and not ſo in the New. Which it would be too great a digreſſion (though not an unprofitable one) here to aſſign.

Many other Inſtances might be given of this kind, but I have made choice of theſe, becauſe they contain the Principal Doctrines and moſt Characteriſtical Practices of the

ecrate it, and ſo had both their Credits and their Conſciences engaged againſt it; But alſo had lived to ſee it proſcribed for near twenty years by a prevailing Faction.

Few have that Generoſity and ſtrength of mind to bear up againſt the torrent of times, or Confidence enough to oppoſe the impetuouſneſs of common vogue and prevailing opinion: There are not many have the ſagacity to diſcern the true images of things through thoſe thick miſts that cunning Politicians caſt about them. It is very ordinary to take the condemnation of any Perſon or Party for a ſufficient Proof of the Accuſation, and to think the Indictment proved, if the Sentence be paſt with common conſent. It was enough both with the *Jews* and *Gentiles* againſt our Saviour, that he was condemned as a Malefactor, the Ignominy of his Croſs was a greater Argument againſt him, with the generality, than the excellency of his Doctrine or Evidence of his Miracles was for him.

This Church was dealt with like the Great Lord *Strafford*, run down by common Fame, oppreſt by Neceſſity, not by Law or Reaſon, and made a Sacrifice to the inraged Multitude.

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The Arguments againſt it were not *weighed* but *numbred*: As that great Lords Impeachment was of Accumulative *Treaſon*, ſo was the Churches of *Popery*; there was more in the Concluſion, than could be made out by the Premiſes; and in the ſumm total, than in the particulars of which it coſiſted: for though no one point of Popery or ſuperſtition could be proved againſt it, yet it muſt be ſo upon the whole. This being agreed, the cry then is, *Crucifige*, deſtroy it root and branch. And now was the Church ſeemingly dead, and (as I ſaid before) buried too for near twenty years; but when by the wonderfull Providence of God it was raiſed again, as it was matter of equal Joy and wonder to all ſuch as were not too far under the power of theſe Prejudices, ſo it could not be expected otherwiſe but that weak and timerous perſons ſhould run from it as from a Ghoſt and Spectre.

To all which add, That it was the corrupt Intereſt of ſome to deceive others into an ill opinion of it; partly as being inraged that by the Churches unexpected Revival, they loſt its Inheritance which they had divided amongſt themſelves, partly being conſcious to themſelves that by reaſon of their

no more than vulgar abilities, they could be fit to fill no extraordinary place in the Church, and yet were not able to content themſelves with any ordinary one, and therefore choſe to ſet up a Party againſt it, and become Leaders of a Faction, ſince they might not be Governours of a Church. And when it is come to that paſs *that by this craft we get our Livings*, like the Silverſmiths at *Epheſus*, no wonder if Apoſtolical Doctrine and Government be cryed down, and the great *Diana* be cryed up. The ſumm is this; Some men were blindly led by their Education, others by their Intereſt, a third ſort by their Reputation, to make good what they had ingaged themſelves and others in; and theſe three things are able to form a great Party againſt the Church.

4. The Fourth and Laſt Cauſe, (and I wiſh it be not the greateſt) of the Diſtractions and ill eſtate of this Church, is the want of true Chriſtian Zeal, and of a deep and ſerious ſenſe of Piety; in defect of which hath ſucceeded that wantonneſs, curioſity, novelty, ſcrupuloſity and contention we complain of.

What was it made the Primitive Church ſo unanimous, that it was not crumbled into

to Parties nor mouldred away in Diviſions, nor quarrelled about opinions, nor ſeparated one part from another upon occaſion of little ſcruples? How came it to paſs, (as I obſerved in the Introduction to this Diſcourſe) that all good men were of one way, and all evil men of another, that thoſe that travailed to the ſame City the Heavenly *Jeruſalem*, kept the ſame Road and parted not company?

It could not be that they ſhould be without different apprehenſions, for mens Parts were no more alike, nor their Educations more equal in thoſe times than now.

There were then ſeveral Rites and Ceremonies that might have afforded matter of ſcruple (if the Chriſtians had been ſo diſpoſed) as well as now: and I think both more in number, and as lyable to exception as any thing now in uſe. There was then *bowing towards the Eaſt*, obſervation of *Lent* and other days, *diſtinction of Garments*, and innumerable other Obſervations in the early days of *Tertullian*; and yet neither any Scripture brought to prove them, nor any ſuch proof thought neceſſary, and yet they were obſerved without ſuſpicion on one ſide, or objection on the other. *Harum &*

aliarum ejuſmodi diſciplinarum, ſi legem expoſtules Scripturarum, nullam invenies, ſed traditio prætenditur auctrix, conſuetudo conſervatrix & fides obſervatrix, ſaith he in his Book *De Corona militis.*

St. *Auſtin* ſaith in his time *the number and burden of Ceremonies was grown as great as under the Law of* Moſes, and therefore wiſhes for a Reformation thereof, in his Epiſtles to *Januarius*; yet never thought theſe things a ſufficient ground of Separation from the Church.

Ep. 11. 8, 119.

There was then ſome diverſity of Expreſſion in which the governours and Paſtors of ſeveral Churches delivered themſelves, yet did they not diſpute themſelves hereupon into Parties, nor accuſe one another of falſe Doctrine, or either ſide make the diviſion of the Church the Evidence of its Orthodoxy, or the Trophy of its Victory. The true reaſon then of the different Event of the ſame Cauſes then and now, ſeems to be this, That in thoſe days men were ſincerely good and devout, and ſet their hearts upon the main; the huge Conſequence and concern of which eaſily prevailed with thoſe holy men to overlook their private ſatisfactions. They were intent upon that wherein the power of Godli-

Godlineſs conſiſted, and upon which the Salvation of Souls depended; and ſo all *that* was ſecure, they were not ſo Superſtitiouſly concerned for Rituals, nor ſo unreaſonably fond of Opinions, as to play away the Peace of the Church and the Honour of Religion againſt trifles and meer tricks of wit and fancy. They conſidered that they all had one God, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in which they all agreed; and theſe great matters were able to unite them in leſſer. They, good men, found enough to doe to mortifie their Paſſions, to bear their burdens of Affliction and Perſecution, to withſtand the Temptations of the Devil, and the contagion of Evil Examples from the world, and had not leaſure for thoſe little Diſputes that now imploy the minds of men, and vex the Church. They ſpent their Heat and Zeal another way, and ſo their Spirits were not eaſily inflamable with every petty Controverſie.

But when men grow cold and indifferent about great things, then they become fervent about the leſſer. When they give over to mind a holy Life, and heavenly Converſation, then they grow great Diſputers, and mightily ſcrupulous about a Ceremony. When they ceaſe to ſtudy their own hearts, then they

they become cenſorious of other men; then they have both the lieſure and the confidence to raiſe Surmiſes and Jealouſies, and to find fault with their Superiours.

In ſhort, then and not till then, do the little Appendages of Religion, grow great and mighty matters in mens eſteem, when the Eſſentials, the great and weighty matters are become little and inconſiderable.

And that this is the Caſe with us in this Nation is too evident to require further proof, and too lamentable a ſubject for any good Chriſtian to take pleaſure in dilating upon. I conclude therefore, in this Point lyes a great part of the Unhappineſs of this Church and Kingdom.

PART

PART II.

Wherein ſeveral ſerious Conſiderations are propounded, tending to perſwade all Engliſh *Proteſtants to comply with, and conform to, the Religion and Government of this Church, as it is eſtabliſhed by Law.*

CHAP. I.

A Reflection upon divers ways or Methods for the Prevention and Cure of Church-Diviſions.

HAving in the former Part of this Diſcourſe, diligently enquired into, and faithfully recited the principal Cauſes of the diſcontents with, and feceſſion from this Church; It would now ill beſeem Chriſtian Charity to reſt here; for (God

(God knows) neither the Evils nor the Cauſes afford any pleaſant ſpeculation.

It was a bad ſtate of things at *Rome* which the Hiſtorian reports in theſe words, *Nec morbos nec remedia pati poſſumus*, That they were come to ſo ill a paſs that they could neither indure their Diſtempers, nor admit of the Remedies. But I perſwade my ſelf, though the condition of our affairs be bad enough, yet that it is not ſo deplorable as to diſcourage all Endeavours of a cure. And in this hope I take the courage to propound the following conſiderations; wherein if I be deceived and miſs of my aim, I ſhall notwithſtanding have that of *Quintilian* to comfort my ſelf withal, *Probabilis eſt cupiditas honeſtorum, & vel tutioris eſt audaciæ tentare ea, quibus eſt paratior venia.*

It hath not been the ſingle Unhappineſs of this Church alone, to be moleſted with Diſputes, loaden with objections, and diſhonoured by Separation. Nor can it be hoped that where the buſineſs is Religion, and the concern Eternal Life, that men ſhould incuriouſly ſwallow every thing without moving any queſtion or ſtirring any diſpute. And therefore all Churches muſt of neceſſity more or leſs

leſs have conflicted with the ſame difficulties we complain of. And conſequently the diſeaſe being ſo common, it cannot be but that many and divers Remedies have been tryed and made uſe of. And out of that ſtore we will in this Chapter make election of ſuch as ſeem beſt to fit the condition of the Patient and are moſt practicable in the Caſe.

And in the firſt place, they of the Church of *Rome*, (as many and great Schiſms as they have laboured under formerly, yet) now glorying in their Unity and Peace, and upbraiding all others with their Reſpective Diſtractions, may ſeem to have arrived at ſome remarkable skill, and to be fit to be adviſed withall; and they attribute an admirable efficacy to the following Method.

Firſt, By way of Prevention, they preſcribe that the people be kept in profound *Ignorance*, and then they ſuppoſe, they will never trouble the Church with Diſputes, nor themſelves with Scruples. Let them but be blind enough, and they will ſwallow many a Flye that others ſtrain and boggle at: keep them up in the dark like Birds or Wild Beaſts, and you will render them tame and manageable.

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They affirm Pictures to be Books good enough for the Laity, and ſay, Thoſe are the beſt Sheep that know nothing but their own Fold. *The Prieſts lips*, they confeſs, *ſhould preſerve knowledge*; but ſo they preſerve it from the people, it is no great matter whether they have it themſelves or no.

This Opiate or ſtupefactive Ignorance theſe Empiricks mightily cry up; and for proof of the virtue of it, go but over ito *Spain* or *Italy*, and you ſhall obſerve what ſtrange cures it hath done. It hath made a ſagacious people as any in the World naturally, ſo far from Diſputes in Religion, that they ſcarce know what it means. Adminiſter but a large doſe of this, and it ſhall have the ſame effect the Plague of Darkneſs had in *Ægypt*, *that ſuffered no man to ſtir out of his place.*

But this Advice how ſucceſsfull ſoever it hath been in other places, will not be admitted in *England* for two reaſons.

1. If it were commendable in it ſelf, yet it comes too late; for the people of *England* know ſo much already that the onely way

way to cure the inconveniencies of that, is to let them know more. And as an Excellent Perſon hath well obſerved concerning Atheiſm, *That a little ſmattering in Philoſophy diſpoſes men to it, by intangling them in Second Cauſes which they cannot explicate, but a through inſight into it leads them through that perplexed maze to the diſcovery of the Firſt Cauſe of all things*: So 'tis onely ſuperficial knowledge in Chriſtianity that gives occaſion to our troubles, when men think they know, but do not; or becauſe they know a little, conceit they underſtand all that is knowable, and hereupon refuſe inſtruction, and oppoſe their private opinions to the publick wiſdom. Whereas did theſe men ſee further into things, they would then diſcover a reaſon of many things they are now diſſatisfied with, or at leaſt diſtruſt their own underſtandings and grow modeſt and peaceable.

2. Beſides, if this Advice came timely, yet we take the Remedy to be worſe than the Diſeaſe; for we eſteem it better (if one be neceſſary) to erre like men, than to be driven like Beaſts, or acted like Puppets.

The Goſpel Church is frequently called in Scripture *the Kingdom of Heaven, and the*

the Kingdom of Light; but by this courſe of blind devotion and ſtupid Ignorance, it would become more like Hell, which they ſay hath heat without light.

God in the Goſpel requires a *reaſonable ſervice*, and it can never be conſiſtent that thoſe that pretend Chriſt Jeſus is riſen upon them as a Sun of Righteouſneſs, ſhould think to worſhip this Sun by turning their backs upon him, or ſhutting their eyes againſt his light. If it were or could be ſo, then this Propoſition would be true, That the way to become good Chriſtians, is to ceaſe to be Men.

2. Secondly, they direct us to an *Infallible Judge* of all Controverſies. And this they ſo much magnifie and repreſent as abſolutely neceſſary to Peace, that they tell us we ſhall labour in vain, in the uſe of all other Expedients, and onely roll up a weight with infinite pains, that will with the greater violence return upon us again, till we make uſe of this Remedy.

But it is ſo Mountebank-like to pretend to Infallible Cures, that we deſire to be reſolved of theſe two or three things before we can comply with the advice.

1. We

1. We would fain know how it came to paſs, that ſo important a point as this is (of an Infallible Judge of Controverſies) which it is pretended would ſecure the Peace of all States, preſerve the Concord and the Dignity of all Churches, ſtop the mouths of all Atheiſts, prevent the Sin and the Damnation of many Souls, is no more plainly aſſerted in Scripture, nor proved by Reaſon, nor better agreed of amongſt themſelves, that thus recommend it? A man would reaſonably expect that a buſineſs of this nature, (which is therefore of more value than any one Article of Faith, in as much as that it hereupon depends what ſhall be ſo,) ſhould have been more clear and evident than thoſe things that depend upon it: but contrariwiſe, we find that no man ever yet could perſwade by Reaſon, *that one certain man in the World was more than a man, and all the reſtleſs.*

And then for Scripture, that plainly tells us, *that all men are lyars, i. e.* ſuch as may deceive, or be deceived; and moſt undoubtedly would never have made ſuch a diſtinction of Chriſtians, as *ſtrong men* and *babes* in Chriſt, nor made it our duty to conſider one anothers weakneſs, and practiſe

mutual forbearance, if it had intended any where to direct us to ſuch an Umpire as ſhould have ended all diſputes, and made all men equally certain.

But then for agreement amongſt themſelves, where to lodge this Infallibility, whether in the Pope alone, or in the Pope and Conſiſtory, or in a General Council, or in all theſe together, or in ſomething elſe, is, for ought I ſee a Queſtion that needs an Infallible Judge to determine.

2. How comes it to paſs that all Controverſies are not determined and Diſputes ended long ago, if this were true that is pretended?

Whether there be any Infallible Judge to reſort to now, is the point in queſtion; but it is certain there was ſuch a thing in the Apoſtles times: they had the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit in ſuch a manner as to guide them into all truth, and gave miraculous proofs that they had ſo; and yet this would not cure all the Schiſms, nor reſolve all Scruples, nor ſilence all Diſputes then. And that Infallibility in a Pope or any other perſon (if it were there to be found) ſhould have better ſucceſs now than it had in thoſe more

more ſincere and ſimple times of Chriſtianity, I think is not very reaſonably expected.

Beſides, We find manifeſtly that thoſe that glory ſo much of this Remedy, have not found ſuch benefit by it, as that they commend it to us for. For it is well enough known, that the *Romaniſts* have their Diſputes as well as we; The *Franciſcans* againſt the *Dominicans*, and the *Janſeniſts* againſt the *Moliniſts*, and their ſeveral Perſwaſions managed with as much heat as any of our Controverſies; ſaving that indeed they all agree in *uno tertio* the Supremacy of the Pope. Therefore we ſay, *Medice cura teipſum.* Let us ſee all their own Difficulties decided and Diſputes ended, and then, and to be ſure not till then, ſhall we be encouraged to make uſe of the Remedy.

3. Thirdly, They have another Remedy which I muſt needs confeſs hath done ſtrange things and been very ſucceſsful amongſt themſelves, and I will tranſcribe the Recept of it out of an ingenious Book called *Europæ ſpeculum*, *pag.* 34. of the Edition at the *Hague*, 1629. in theſe words: *The particular waies they hold to raviſh all affections and fit each humour, are well nigh infinite;*

there being not any thing either ſacred or prophane, no vertue nor vice almoſt, nothing of how contrary condition ſoever, which they make not in ſome ſort to ſerve that turn, that each phancy may be ſatisfied. Whatever wealth can ſway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the deſpiſers of the world; what honour with the ambitious, what obedience with the humble; what great employment with ſtirring and active ſpirits, what perpetual quiet with heavy and reſtive bodies; what content the pleaſant nature can take in paſtimes and jollity, what contrariwiſe the auſtere mind in diſcipline and rigour; what love either chaſtity can raiſe in the pure, or voluptuouſneſs in the doſſolute, &c. *What change of vows with the raſh, or of eſtate with the unconſtant; what pardons with the faulty, or ſupplies with the defective; what miracles with the credulous, or viſions with the phantaſtical; what gorgeouſneſs of ſhews with the vulgar and ſimple, what multitude of Ceremonies with the ſuperſtitious, what prayers with the devout; And in ſumm, whatſoever can prevail with any man either for himſelf to purſue, or to love and reverence in another, the ſame is found with them.——On the one ſide of the ſtreet a Cloyſter of Virgins, on the other a ſtye of Courtezans, with publick*

lick toleration. This day all in Masks with looſneſs and foolery, to morrow all in Proceſſions, whipping themſelves till the blood follow. To conclude, Never State, never Government in the world, ſo ſtrangely compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to the entertainment of the ſeveral humours of men.

Now no wonder that this courſe ſhould keep them generally contented, ſince it is in effect an univerſal Toleration, a permitting men to be and do what they liſt, ſo they caſt but ſome garb of Religion or other over it.

In the *United Provinces*, it is commonly ſaid, There is an allowance of all Opinions; but the truth, as I am informed, is no more but this, That that State being made up of a combination of ſeveral Free Cities, he that finds not his opinion countenanced in one City ſo much as he deſires, may retire to another where it is publickly *profeſt*. So in the Church of *Rome*, he that likes not the debaucheries of the Court, may enjoy ſeverities in a Monaſtery, he that is offended with one Order, may make choice of another; a man may be a *good Catholick*, as they call it, without

being a *good Chriſtian*; he may perfectly accommodate his own humour, if he have but the wit to make a right choice for himſelf; he need not be at the Self-denial to conform his humour to his Profeſſion, but may fit his inclination with a way of Religion, if he have not prevented himſelf by an imprudent election. He may almoſt do any thing, provided, as *Eraſmus* obſerves, *He let but two things alone, which are the onely dangerous points, that is to ſay, that he meddle not with the Popes Crown, nor the Monks Bellies.*

But we of this Church are not of opinion, that ſuch a Peace as this is, is worth the proſtitution of Religion, and the debauching of mens minds and Conſciences; and have too much ſimplicity and ſincerity of Devotion, to make uſe of this Remedy, to put an end to our Diſtractions.

4. Fourthly, But the great and infallible Remedy is yet to come, and is that which others expreſs by ſeveral words, *Axes, Halters, Racks, Fire* and *Faggot*; but they by one word that ſignifies as much as all thoſe, *viz. the Holy Inquiſition.* This is that Engine that ſtretches all mens Intellectuals to the proportion of the Prieſts, or cuts them off to

to the publick Standard; this decides all Controverſies, ſilences all Diſputes, reſolves all Scruples, and makes perfect Peace where-ever it comes. But,

Though we grant all this, yet will not this down with *Engliſhmen*. For beſides that our Goſpel is not like (what they ſay of) the Laws of *Draco, written in blood* nor have we any Rubrick, to kill men *for quietneſs ſake*; beſides this, I ſay, the Genius of this Nation is both too couragious and too compaſſionate, to be this way Governed.

No people in the world are leſs moved by the apprehenſion of death and danger than they, and no people are more tender of the Lives of others than they. For Generally theſe two Vertues are inſeparable, and the moſt generous tempers are commonly the moſt merciful. The *Engliſh* will be led like Men, but not driven like Beaſts. They have great minds that will be moved by example, and wrought upon by kindneſs, and melted by good nature; but will ſooner ſuffer themſelves to be broken in pieces, than that cruelty ſhall force them, or fear and danger prevail over them.

It is generally obſervable here, that no Laws ſo ſoon grow in deſuetude, and are rendred unpracticable, as thoſe that are too ſevere. It is counted a butcherly way of Chirurgerie with us, for every ſlight wound to cut off the member. And the exerciſe of ſo much Cruelty upon the account of Religion, by thoſe Blood-letters in Queen *Maries* time, hath (thanks be to God) made that Profeſſion deteſtable to this day; and it looked ſo ill in the *Romaniſts*, that we ſhall never be perſwaded to practiſe it our ſelves.

Therefore none of the *Romaniſts* Expedients will work the Cure we deſire in this Church.

Let us ſee then what other courſes there are to be taken, and there remain yet theſe three to be conſidered of. 1. *Univerſal Toleration.* 2. *Comprehenſion.* 3. *Inſtruction and Conſideration.*

1. *Univerſal Toleration.* This is highly commended by ſome as the moſt Chriſtian Remedy, *to let all grow together till the harveſt.* We are told, "That it was it made

" made the Primitive Church ſo happy, and " we may obſerve that this the Chriſtians " pleaded for under perſecuting Emperours, " affirming, *That it was every mans natural* " *right to ſerve what God, and uſe what Reli-* " *gion he thought good.* This the Great *Con-* " *ſtantine* declared at his firſt entrance upon " the Empire, and they ſay that every Prince " is bound to do ſo too.

" Beſides, it is affirmed, that this is the beſt " way of propagating Truth and giving it Re- " putation, and making its Triumphs conſpi- " cuous, by ſetting it upon even ground, and " giving it no advantage in the encounter of " Error. And that the minds of men will be as " open to truth as falſhood, when they are de- " livered from the prejudice, That it is power " and Intereſt make men of ſuch or ſuch Opi- " nions.

" That this is the onely way to make a " Learned Clergy, when they ſhall have a " neceſſity upon them to be able to prove ſub- " ſtantially whatever they expect ſhould be " received.

" And in fine, That the onely way to make " peaceable Subjects, a rich Countrey " and a happy Prince is to open a *Pan-* " *theon,*

"*theon*, to give Liberty to all Religi-
"ons.

But two things would de conſidered of in this point.

Firſt, That whatſoever fine things are ſaid of this, or whatever collateral advantage may be reaped by it, they are of no other force, than to incline the Magiſtrate prudentially in ſome caſes to uſe indulgence; for it never was nor will be proved, that it is the expreſs duty of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate to tolerate all Opinions whatſoever; for ſome are ſuch as deſtroy all Religion which he is to protect, others ſubvert all Civil Society which he is to maintain: Therefore it can never be his duty to carry an indifferent hand in Religion.

And though it be true, that the Primitive Chriſtians uſed ſuch general expreſſions as are above-ſpecified, and *Conſtantine* made ſuch a declaration; yet both he and they limited and interpreted themſeves afterwards. And indeed it cannot be ſhewn *de facto* that any Government in the whole Chriſtian World doth tolerate all Opinions whatſoever. For ſhould they do ſo, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that the Magiſtrate is to have no Conſcience or Religion

Religion himſelf, that other men may have no check in theirs whatever it be.

2. But if it were true, that the Magiſtrate might (if he would) indulge all Sects and Opinions, and alſo were diſpoſed ſo to do; yet beſides the inconveniencies that would follow, This very thing would be very unacceptable to the people of this Nation; amongſt whom there is ſo much ſincerity and heartineſs in Religion.

It might go down perhaps amongſt ſuch as have a great Indefferency and Lukewarmneſs in Religion, with ſuch people whoſe God is their Gain, and whoſe Religion is their Trade or Intereſt. But devout and ſerious people had rather ſuffer ſome hardſhip themſelves upon the account of their Conſciences, than buy their own quiet at the price of Gods diſhonour. And whatever kindneſs they may have to ſome diſſenters, or fondneſs to ſome by-paths themſelves, yet rather than open ſo wide a Gap as that Popery and Atheiſm it ſelf ſhould enter in by it, they would deny themſelves, and think it the duty of all other good Chriſtians to do ſo too.

2. *Com-*

2. *Comprehenſion*; whereby I ſuppoſe, is meant the making the terms of Communion more free and eaſie, an opening the arms of the Church to receive more into her boſome, thereby to enlarge both the Society and Intereſt of the Church. This is highly recommended by ſome good men as the moſt proper expedient for a Proteſtant Church in our condition, as by means whereof it may be both better ſtrengthened and ſecured againſt its Enemies abroad, and enjoy Peace and Contentment at home.

And truly for my part, if ſuch a courſe pleaſe our Governours, I have no mind to oppoſe any thing to it; but onely I deſire it may be conſidered, that there are many things that look very probably in the general notion and ſpeculation, and that would flatter one into a great opinion of them, and expectation from them, which when they come to be tryed, they are no wayes anſwerable to. Many difficulties occur in the reducing things of this nature to practice, that were not foreſeen in the theory, and nothing more common, than for mens minds to deceive them, or their conſtancy to fail them, ſo as that they ſhall take no great pleaſure in the enjoyment

enjoyment of that which they languiſht with deſire of, whileſt it was ſweetned to them by the poinant ſauces of hope and fear. Beſides, this is not yet done, nor do we know when it will be ſet about, and it's pity the wounds of the Church ſhould bleed ſo long as till that can be effected, eſpecially if there be any Balm in *Gilead*, any way of binding them up in the mean time. And there ſeems to me to remain no other but that of the *third* Conſideration, which is the courſe I have pitched upon to recommend in the following Chapters.

By which I mean nothing elſe but an Endeavour of better informing the minds of men in the nature of thoſe things which are the matter of our diſputes, and occaſions of our diſturbances, together with the unhappy conſequences of ſin and danger in perſevering in our preſent caſe.

Which if it can be done, we may hope to ſee the Church recover its ancient felicity and peace, and ſhall not need for cure of our diſtempers, to reſort either to ſuch ſeverities as are abhorrent to all *Engliſhmen*, or to ſuch arts as deform Chriſtianity in general, or to be alwayes changing and altering to the great diſhonour

diſhonour of Proteſtant Religion in particular. And this I do not deſpair may be obtained, if thoſe Proteſtants of this Church and Kingdom that at preſent differ from the Church in ſome particulars, will impartially conſider the following Propoſitions.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the true notion of Schiſm, the ſin and miſchievous conſequents of it.

THough the Will of man deſervedly bear the blame of his miſcarriages, as being neither under Fatal neceſſity, nor ſubject to violence and compulſion, but that it may ſuſpend its own act till it be rightly informed; yet I have ſo much charity to humane nature, as to think that moſt of its irregularities proceed not meerly from ſtubborn perverſion, but miſtake of the object. And that therefore Mankind is very pittyable in its errors, having not that clearneſs of perception, nor preſence of mind that higher and more immaterial Spirits have.

And perhaps upon this account, it pleaſed the Divine Goodneſs to afford men that which he denyed to the fallen Angels, *ſecundam tabulam poſt naufragium*, and to open

open to them a door of hope by repentance and retrival of their faults. And accordingly I obſerve, that thoſe that cruelly murdered our Saviour, he prayes for them in this form, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do*, Luk. 23. 34. And that it was not onely the ſilly multitude that was ſo overſeen, but alſo the wiſeſt of his Perſecutors, St. *Peter* bears witneſs, Acts 3. 17. *I wot that ye did it ignorantly, as alſo did your Rulers.* So that I am neither deſtitute of reaſon nor example for my charity, if I think in the preſent caſe, concerning the greateſt part of thoſe that are guilty of the diſtractions of this Church, that did they rightly underſtand the nature of *Schiſm* and wherein it conſiſts, or the guilt and miſchiefs that attend it, they would eaſily be induced to change their courſe. This therefore I ſhall firſt offer to conſideration.

Touching the ſin of dividing the Church that it is of the deepeſt dye and greateſt guilt, I ſuppoſe we ſhall eaſily agree; for indeed no body can well doubt of that, who conſiders what care our Saviour took to prevent it, what pains he took with his Apoſtles, that they might be throughly inſtructed, and not differ in the delivery of his

mind to the world, and with what extraordinary ardour he prayed for them upon this very account, *Joh.* 17. 11.

And the Apoſtles themſelves anſwered their Maſters care with their own diligence and circumſpection. He that obſerves how induſtrious they were to reſiſt all beginnings of Schiſm in every Church, to heal all breaches, to take away all occaſions of diviſion, to unite all hearts and reconcile all minds; How they taught people to deteſt this diſtemper as the bane of Chriſtianity, charging them to uſe the greateſt caution againſt it, to mark and avoid all thoſe men that inclined that way, as perſons of a contagious breath and infectious ſociety; What odious names they give it, as *Carnality, the work of the fleſh, and of the Devil:* He, I ſay, that obſerves all this, cannot but be apprehenſive of the greatneſs of this ſin. 1 Cor. 3. 4.

But he that ſhall trace the ſenſe of the Church a little farther, will find the Primitive Chriſtians having it in ſuch deteſtation, that they thought it equal to the moſt notorious ſins, Idolatry, Murther and Sacriledge.

St. *Cyprian* amongſt the reſt affirms it to be of ſo horrible a guilt, that *Martyrdom was not a ſufficient expiation of it*; that *to dye* De Unitate Eccleſ.

v. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 44.

for Chriſt the Head, would not waſh out the ſtain of having divided the Church his Body. *Novatus* a Presbyter in the Church of *Rome* (in the third Century after our Saviour) having under pretence of Reformation and more than ordinary Sanctity, been the Author of a Schiſm in that Church, *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* writes to him after this manner: Brother, you ought to have undergone any inconveniencies whatſoever, rather than divided the Church of God. And if a man muſt ſuffer Martyrdome, I proteſt I think it equally acceptable to God to lay down a man's live for preſervation of the peace and unity of the Church, as in teſtimony againſt flat Idolatry. For in the latter a man dyes onely for his own Soul, but in the former he becomes a Sacrifice for the whole Church.

And all this was no more than the caſe deſerved, for had the Chriſtian Church been broken into Factions and Parties in thoſe times, as it hath been ſince, it is not eaſie to imagine, how it could have reſiſted the whole World that was united againſt it: Or if yet it could have ſubſiſted in its ſeveral divided Parties, the miſchief would have been little leſs; for then thoſe of after-times would have had the ſeveral Opinions and diſtinct

diſtinct and peculiar Sentiments of thoſe divided Parties, delivered down to them with equal heat and earneſtneſs, ſo that it would have proved impoſſible to have diſtinguiſht the Truth of God from the Opinions of men, and the common Faith from the *Shiboleth* and cognizancies of the ſeveral Sects and Parties. And for this cauſe it pleaſed God that his Church ſhould rather in thoſe early dayes be haraſſed with perſecutions, which made it unite it ſelf the cloſer, and (paring off all ſuperfluities) keep to the neceſſary and eſſential Doctrines delivered to it, than to be ſoftned and made wanton by eaſe, and ſo to corrupt the Simplicity of the Goſpel.

Nor is the importance of Vnity much leſs in theſe latter days of Chriſtianity, foraſmuch as all Diviſions in all times deſtroy that beauty and lovelineſs, which would otherwiſe attract all mens admiration and affection. Beauty properly is nothing but order and harmony of parts; the excellency of any Fabrick conſiſts not ſo much in the quality of the materials, as in the curious method they are digeſted into, and the good reſpect and correſpondence one part hath with another. It is not the ſublimity of Chriſtian Doctrine, nor the glorioufneſs of the Hopes it propounds, that will ſo re-

commend it to the opinion and eſteem of Beholders, as when it ſhall be ſaid, *Ecce ut Chriſtiani amant*, when they ſhall obſerve the love, concord and unanimity amongſt the profeſſors of it. And the want of this hardens the hearts of *Jews* and *Turks* and *Pagans* more againſt it, than all the reaſons and proofs we can give for it, will ſoften them; and inſtead of opening their ears and hearts to entertain it, opens their mouths in contempt and blaſphemy againſt it.

But beſides the diſadvantage Chriſtianity is expoſed to by its Diviſions in reſpect of thoſe that are without, it ſuffers unſpeakably within its own Territories. For who will be perſwaded patiently to hear, attentively to conſider, or impartially to judge of the diſcourſes of him againſt whom he hath an animoſity? Every thing the truer it is, the more it is for its advantage to be calmly conſidered: and by how much of the more importance it is, by ſo much is he that would have his propoſition ſucceſsfull, bound in wiſdom to take care that the minds of men be not by paſſion and prejudice indiſpoſed to receive it.

Livy obſerves, that prodigious Stories, Lyes and Fables find beſt entertainment in troubleſome times, *quia tutius finguntur & facilius*

facilius creduntur; men are not then at leiſure to conſider ſtrictly what is true and falſe, and ſo truth loſes its advantage-ground, and error ſucceeds in it. Our Saviour therefore choſe to come into the world in a time of the moſt profound peace, not onely becauſe ſuch a ſeaſon became the Prince of Peace, but eſpecially for this advantage of his Doctrine we are ſpeaking of, namely, that he might find men in calm thoughts and at leiſure to conſider the reaſonableneſs of his propoſitions. For who can maturely weigh things when all is in hurry and tumult? Who can diſcern exactly the difference of things, when all is in motion? Eſpecially who is there that is willing either to doe good to, or to receive good from him, againſt whom he hath an exulcerate mind?

In ſhort then, and to ſpeak ſummarily, From Schiſms and Diviſions amongſt Chriſtians, comes that prejudice upon the minds of people that diſcourages the indeavours, and fruſtrates the labours of the Miniſters of Religion. From thence come all the Suſpicions, Jealouſies, Whiſperings, Backbitings, and all other inſtances of Uncharitableneſs. Theſe hinder the fervour of mens Prayers and abate the edge of their Devotions. Theſe evaporate the true Spirit and Life of

Religion in impertinent Diſputes, ſo that men loſe the ſubſtance, whileſt they contend for the ſhadow. By theſe the ſinews of all Society are diſſolved; for when the Church is diſturbed, it ſeldom reſts here, but the State is concerned too; and Schiſm in the former, proves Sedition in the latter. And this conſideration is able to provoke the Magiſtrate to keep a jealous eye upon the Church and Religion, the flames of which are ſo ready to ſet his houſe alſo on fire.

All theſe things are ſo true in themſelves and withall ſo generally acknowledged by all Parties, that a man might juſtly wonder, how any Chriſtian ſhould be guilty of Schiſm, which all ſo much abominate. Were it not that we may obſerve too, that ſome have found pleaſure to get that Child, they would by no means have laid at their own door. Schiſm is ſo miſhapen as well as ill-begotten a Brat, that no body is willing to father it.

It was the early proof *Solomon* gave of his wiſdom, in diſcovering the true Mother of the living Child, to which both the Litigants laid equal claim. It is a matter of no leſs importance, and ſome think of equal difficulty, to make diſcovery, whom

whom the diſtractions of the Church are juſtly to be imputed to. But as that wiſe Prince diſcerned the true Mother by the tenderneſs of her bowels towards the Infant, ſo we perhaps may diſcover the true Children of the Church by their reſpect and tenderneſs, and conſequently the Schiſmaticks by their irreverence and unnaturalneſs towards her.

In order to which, I will therefore briefly and plainly deſcribe the true notion of *Schiſm*; In hopes that when men ſhall underſtand, wherein the guilt of it lyes, they will avoid the evil as well as abominate the conſequence.

Schiſm is a voluntary departure or ſeparation of ones ſelf without juſt cauſe given, from that Chriſtian Church whereof he was once a member; or, *Schiſm* is a breach of that Communion wherein a man might have continued without ſin.

Firſt, I call it a *Departure or Separation from the Society of the Church*, to diſtinguiſh it from other ſins, which though they are breaches of the Laws of our Religion and conſequently of the Church, yet are not a renunciation of the Society. For as there

may be a ſickly, infirm, nay, an ulcerous member, and yet a member of the body: So there may be ſuch a perſon, who for his wickedneſs deſerves well to be caſt out of the Church, as being a ſcandal and diſhonour to it, yet neither ſeparating himſelf, nor being caſt out of the Society, remains ſtill a member of it.

Now what it is that imports a mans ſeparation of himſelf or departure from the Church, we ſhall eaſily underſtand? for it is no more but this, When a man ſhall either expreſly declare that he doth renounce ſuch a Society, or ſhall refuſe to joyn in the acts and exerciſes of Religion uſed by ſuch a Society, and to ſubmit to its Authority. So he ſeparates that refuſes Baptiſm, the Lords Supper, or to ſubmit unto the Cenſures of a Church, and ſufficiently declares that he owns himſelf no longer of it.

Secondly, I call it a *Voluntary* Separation, to diſtinguiſh ſin from puniſhment, or Schiſm from Excommunication. For though the laſt makes a man no member of a Church, yet it is ſuppoſed involuntary, and he doth not make himſelf ſo.

Thirdly, I call it a departure from a *particular*

ticular Church of Chriſt or from a *part of the viſible Church*, to diſtinguiſh it from Apoſtaſie, which is a caſting off of the whole Religion, the name and profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and not onely the particular Society: but the Schiſmatick is he that, retaining the Religion in general, or at leaſt a pretence of it, changes his Society, aſſociates himſelf with, or makes up ſome other body in oppoſition to that whereof he formerly was.

Fourthly, I add thoſe words *whereof he was a member*, becauſe Schiſm imports diviſion and making two of that which was but one before. And ſo *Turks*, *Pagans*, *Jews*, cannot be called Schiſmaticks, having never been of the Church.

Theſe things I ſuppoſe are all generally agreed of; The onely difficulty is in that which I ſubjoyn in theſe words, an *unneceſſary* ſeparation, or *without juſt cauſe*, or to ſeparate from that Society *wherein I may continue without ſin*. And here we meet with oppoſition on both ſides, ſome defining too ſtrictly, and others extending too far, the cauſes of Separation.

Of the firſt ſort are the Zealots of the Church of *Rome*, who ſcarcely allow any thing

thing as a ſufficient cauſe of Separation; for being conſcious of ſo many and great Corruptions in their Church, they know they can ſcarce allow any thing as a juſt cauſe of Separation, that will not be in danger to be uſed againſt themſelves, and juſtifie the receſſion of all Proteſtants from them.

But on the other ſide, ſome Proteſtants make the cauſes of Separation as many and as light as the *Jews* did of Divorce, almoſt for any matter whatſoever. *Joſephus* put away his Wife (as himſelf tells us) becauſe ſhe was not mannerly enough; another his, becauſe he ſaw a handſomer than ſhe; a third his, becauſe ſhe dreſt not his dinner well. As theſe *Jews* did by their Wives, ſo do many Chriſtians by the Church; One likes not her dreſs, another thinks her too coſtly in her ornaments, a third phanſies ſome *German* beauty or other that he hath ſeen in his travails, and all (to make way for new Amours) upon very ſlender pretences repudiate their former choice. But as our Saviour when the Caſe was put, found out a middle way betwixt allowing Divorce for no cauſe at all, and for every cauſe; ſo ought it to be done in this buſineſs of Schiſm.

To hit this mark therefore, I ſay, that then,

then, and then onely, is there juſt cauſe of Separation, when Perſeverance in the Communion of ſuch a Church cannot be without ſin; that is, when ſhe ſhall impoſe ſuch Laws and terms of Society, as cannot be ſubmitted to without apparent breach of the Divine Law.

And upon this foundation, I doubt not but we ſhall quit our ſelves well on both ſides; that is, both juſtifie our Receſſion from the Church of *Rome*, and demonſtrate the unwarrantableneſs of the Separation of the Proteſtants of this Kingdom from the Communion of the Church of *England*. For it's plain on the one hand, that it cannot be ſin to ſeparate, when it is ſin to communicate, ſince no Laws of men can abrogate or diſſolve the obligation of the expreſs Laws of God. And on the other it is as plain, that Schiſm being ſo great a ſin, and of ſo extream bad conſequence, that which muſt acquit me of the guilt of it in my ſeparation, can be nothing leſs than equal danger on the other hand, and that when I may perſevere without ſin, it muſt of neceſſity be a ſin to ſeparate upon inferiour diſlikes.

This methinks is ſo plain, that I wonder any doubt ſhould be admitted of in the caſe.

Not-

Notwithſtanding becauſe I obſerve ſome men think to waſh their hands of the imputation of Schiſm upon other terms; as namely, Although a Church ſhall not require or impoſe ſuch conditions of Communion as are expreſly ſinfull, yet if ſhe ſhall require indifferent, unneceſſary, or at moſt ſuſpected things; that in this caſe, there is enough to excuſe the perſon that ſhall ſeparate, from a participation of this ſin. And alſo becauſe this opinion bears it ſelf up by the great name of Mr. *Hales*, as his declared judgement in a little Tract of *Schiſm* now very much in the hands of men, I will therefore for the clearing of this matter ſay theſe three things.

1. I willingly acknowledge, that ſuch a Church as ſhall ſtudiouſly or careleſly clog her Communion with unneceſſary, burdenſome and ſuſpected conditions, is very highly to blame; yet is it neither burdenſomneſs nor every light ſuſpicion of Sin, but a plain neceſſity or certainty of ſin in compliance that can juſtifie any Separation; foraſmuch as I cannot be diſcharged from a plain duty but by an equal plainneſs of the ſin. And for this phraſe *ſuſpected*, it is ſo looſe and uncertain, that there is no hold of it; men will eaſily ſuſpect what they have no mind to: and ſuſpicion having this priviledge, we ſhall

ſhall quickly evacuate every uneaſy duty, and inſtead of guiding our ſelves by Gods Word and ſound reaſoning, we ſhall give our ſelves up to the conduct of Paſſion, Melancholy and Secular Intereſt.

2. If the non-neceſſity of ſome of the terms of Communion be a warrant of ſeparation, then there can be no ſuch ſin as Schiſm at all, foraſmuch as there never was, nor probably ever will be, ſuch a Church as required nothing of thoſe in her Communion, but things ſtrictly and abſolutely neceſſary; as I have ſhewed partly in the Introduction, and could eaſily make appear at large through all Ages. But to ſave both my ſelf and the Reader that labour, let him that doubts the truth of this, conſider the particular Churches of all Countreys and Ages, and then name one (if he can) that hath admitted of no other Opinions or Rites but ſuch as have been abſolutely neceſſary; nay I much doubt whether any man can be either ſo facil or humourſome, as to conceit every obſervance in that Society, which he is moſt in love withal, to be of that nature, further than peace and the importance of order ſhall make it ſo. And if there be no Church without ſome unneceſſary determinations, and if that juſtifie ſeparation, then may the Authour

Authour of the Tract about *Schiſm* ſecurely, as he doth ſomewhat too lightly, call it onely a Theological Scarcrow.

3. It will be manifeſt to any conſidering perſon, that ſome things are neceſſary to the Conſtitution and Adminiſtration of a particular Church, that are not in themſelves neceſſary abſolutely conſidered. And of this I will give two inſtances.

The firſt in the Apoſtles times; The *abſtaining from things ſtrangled and blood*, was by the Council at *Jeruſalem* adjudged and declared neceſſary to be obſerved by the *Gentiles* in order to an accommodation betwixt them and the *Jews* (of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter) and yet I ſuppoſe ſcarce any body thinks the obſervation of that abſtinence ſo enjoyned, neceſſary in it ſelf.

The ſecond inſtance ſhall be *Church-Government*. Whatever diſputes there are about the ſeveral Forms of it, as whether it ought to be Monarchical or Ariſtocratical, Epiſcopal or Conſiſtorial, and whatever zeal for opinion may tranſport men to ſay in favour of either of them, yet I ſuppoſe few or none will affirm, that either of theſe Forms is abſolutely neceſſary; for if one be of abſolute

ſolute neceſſity, the other muſt be abſolutely unlawful: and not onely ſo, but then alſo thoſe that do not receive that abſolutely neceſſary Form, can be no Churches; for that Society which is defective in abſolutely neceſſaries, can be no Chriſtian Church*. Notwithſtanding it is not onely lawful to determine and define this unneceſſary point, but it is neceſſary to the conſtitution of every particular Church that it be defined one way or other, I mean ſo far as concerns that Church; for if this be left indifferent in this particular Church, (as perhaps it is in it ſelf in the general) it is manifeſt there can be no Superiour nor Inferiour, no Governour nor governed, no Order, and conſequently a meer Rout and no Church. Therefore ſome things not neceſſary in themſelves not onely may, but muſt be defined in a particular Church; and conſequently it will be no juſt exception againſt a Church, nor excuſe from Schiſm, if we ſeparate from that Communion, becauſe ſuch definitions are made in it.

* I do not mean hereby to weaken the authority and reputation of Epiſcopal Government, which I ſincerely think to be both beſt in it ſelf, Apoſtolical for its Antiquity, and moſt accommodate to the Genius of this people, as well as ſuited to the intereſts and civil Government of this Kingdom; what is here ſaid therefore, is either ſpoken by way of ſuppoſition as *Argumentum ad homines*, or in charity, being very loth raſhly to unchriſtian other Foreign Churches.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the nature and importance of thoſe things that are ſcrupled, or objected againſt in this Church; and that they are ſuch as may without ſin be ſacrificed to Peace, and therefore cannot excuſe us from ſin in ſeparating from the Church upon their account.

IT is the cuſtome of thoſe that have a mind to quarrel, to aggravate and heighten the cauſes of diſcontent, to the end that the enſuing miſchief may not be imputed to the frowardneſs of their temper, but to the greatneſs of the provocation. And paſſion is ſuch a Magnifying-glaſs as is able to extend a Mole-hill to a Mountain. The way of Peace therefore is to take juſt meaſures of things; and as upon the account of Truth we muſt not make the matters of our diſpute leſs than they are, ſo for the ſake of both Truth and Peace we ought not to make them greater. Wherefore if men would be perſwaded to ſet

ſet aſide paſſion, and calmly conſider the nature and juſt value of thoſe things that we in this Church are divided upon, we ſhould then be ſo far from ſeeing reaſon to perpetuate our diſtance and animoſities, that we ſhould on the contrary, be ſeized with wonder and indignation, that we have hitherto been impoſed upon ſo far, as to take thoſe things for great deformities, which upon mature conſideration are really nothing worſe than Moles, which may be upon the moſt beautiful face.

To this purpoſe therefore, having in the former Chapter repreſented the nature of Schiſm, and the guilt and miſchiefs attending it, I proceed now to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs of the temptations to it, I mean the littleneſs and ſmall importance of the Objections againſt this Church; and that neither any of them ſingle, nor all of them together can countervail the bleſſing of Peace or the evil of Diviſion.

In order hereto, I will firſt ſhew that the cauſes of Diſſentions amongſt us are not like thoſe upon which we ſeparated from the *Roman* Communion. 2. That ſomething muſt be given for Peace by them that will have

it. 3. That all the ſcruples and objections againſt this Church, are not too great a price to pay for it.

1. Touching the firſt, it is ſaid by ſome in heat and paſſion, That there is as much cauſe for ſeceſſion from this Church now, as there was from the *Roman* in the time of our Anceſtors: but with no more reaſon, than if the arguments and diſcourſes written againſt a notorious Tyrant and Uſurper, ſhould be turned againſt a good and lawful Prince. As will eaſily be manifeſt if we conſider the juſt ſtate of the caſe on either hand.

We could not continue in the *Roman* Church upon any better conditions than *Nahaſh* propounded to the men of *Jabeſh Gilead*, 1 *Sam.* 11. to put out our right Eyes that we might be fit for her *blind devotion.* We muſt for the ſake of Peace have denyed the Faith, renounced our Reaſon, and contradicted our very Senſes. That Church inſtead of inſtructing men in knowledge, profeſſes to nurſe them up in ignorance; in lieu of the Scriptures, it gives them Traditions, and inſtead of ſuch things as were *from the beginning*, and the *faith once delivered to the Saints*

it

it preſcribes thoſe things that had their beginning from private intereſts and ſecular advantages.

They make ſeven Sacraments, five more than Chriſt ever intended for ſuch, and take away from the people the half of one of thoſe he expreſly inſtituted and enjoyned. They teach men to pray to Saints inſtead of God, and to uſe a Language in their Devotions which he that pronounces, underſtands no more than the Saint, he prayes to, doth his Needs and Requeſts. Nay, they give divine honour to a piece of Bread, and muſt *ſwallow* Idolatry in ſpite of their *teeth*; herein little better than the *Ægyptians* who worſhipt that for a God which they put into their Bellies. They have taken away one of the Ten Commandments and have arts of evacuating all the reſt, for they elude the neceſſity of a true and ſerious Repentance, and ſubvert the principles of holy Life. In ſhort, they have brought in Pageantry inſtead of Piety and Devotion, effaced the true lineaments of Chriſtianity, and inſtead thereof recommended and obtruded upon the world the dictates of Ambition, the artifices of Gain, and a colluvies of almoſt all the Superſtitions, Errors and Corruptions of former Ages, and this muſt be received and

ſwallowed by all thoſe that will continue in that Communion.

Theſe things could not be ſubmitted to without grievous Sin and manifeſt danger of Damnation; therefore there was juſt ground for our Receſſion: for, as I ſaid, it could not be ſin to depart when it was ſo to continue. And it is a very reaſonable choice rather to be *condemned* by them of Singularity, than to be *damned* for Company.

But now it is quite otherwiſe in the Church of *England*. No man here parts with his Faith upon his Conformity, no man is bound to give away his Reaſon and common Senſe for quietneſs ſake. No man needs to hazard the Peace of a good and well inſtructed Conſcience, for the Peace of the Church. No man is tempted to renounce his Integrity, but may be as good and holy a man as he will, and the more of that the better Church-man. This Church keeps none of her Children in an uncomfortable eſtate of darkneſs, but teaches the true knowledge of God and Chriſt ſincerely and very advantageouſly. She hath no half Communions, nor debars any of her members of the priviledge and comfort of Chriſts Inſtitutions. She recommends the ſame Faith

Faith and the ſame Scriptures that all Proteſtants are agreed in. The ſame God, and onely he, is worſhipped, the ſame rules of holy Life are propounded, as well as the ſame hopes and happineſs expected.

By this brief repreſentation the difference between the Church of *Rome* and the Proteſtants, appears ſo wide and vaſt, that they agree neither in their *Creed* nor *Object of Worſhip*, nor *Sacraments*, nor *Rules of Life*. On the other ſide, the agreements of Proteſtants with the Church of *England* is ſo full and perfect, that they have not onely the *ſame God and Chriſt*, but the *ſame object of Worſhip*, *the ſame way of Devotion* in a known Tongue, the *ſame Sacraments* and *ſame rule of Life*, which certainly are all the great things that the Conſciences of men are concerned in.

A man might therefore juſtly wonder, (theſe things being ſo) what ſhould make a breach, and what place there is for contention; or what can remain conſiderable enough to occaſion the diſſatisfaction, to provoke the animoſity, to countenance that diſtance that is between us. And I verily believe it would be hard for a ſtranger to this Church and Nation, that underſtood the ſtate of the caſe

thus far to gueſs what ſhould be the bone of contention amongſt us.

I will now as well as I can both faithfully and briefly recite the matters of difference. And I muſt needs confeſs, if we *number* them onely, they are many; But if we *weigh* them (not onely againſt the things we are agreed in, but againſt peace and agreement it ſelf) I perſwade my ſelf they will be very light. But that I muſt leave to the judgement of the Reader. The things themſelves are theſe and ſuch as theſe.

Whether ſuch Prayers ſhall make up the body of the publick Liturgy, as have been conceived by the Governours of the Church, and uſed ever ſince the Reformation; or ſuch as ſhall *pro re nata* be occaſionally indited by every private Miniſter.

Or, which perhaps is much the ſame whether ſuch words, expreſſions and phraſes ſhall be continued in the publick Service, as are by long uſe grown familiar to, and intelligible by vulgar people, or ſuch ſhall come in their room, as are more modern and grateful to nicer Ears?

About the ſeveral poſtures of Standing, Kneeling,

Kneeling and Sitting; and whether ſome one of theſe be more decorous and accommodate to ſome part of God's Worſhip than another, and which to which?

About obſervation of Dayes and Times; as whether the Anniverſaries of the Birth, Death and Reſurrection of our Saviour and other great paſſages of the Goſpel be of uſe, and fit to be obſerved? And whether ſome ſpecial Time of Abſtinence and Mortification in conformity to the Primitive Church, may now be retained or not?

About Habits and Garments, ſuch as Gown, Surplice, *&c.* whether the habit uſed in miniſtration in the time of King *Edward*, be not now as Lawful as any other?

About the Ceremony of the Croſs in Baptiſm, whether (whileſt it is declared not eſſential to Baptiſm) it may not upon other conſiderations be uſed in that Sacrament?

Or laſtly, whether Subordination of the Clergy in the Epiſcopal way, or Co-ordinacy and Parity in the Presbyterian, be rather to be preferred?

Moſt of the Diſputes we have amongſt us, are either upon theſe queſtions, or reducible to theſe, or at leaſt of like nature with theſe. Now how inconſiderable theſe things are in themſelves, and how fit to be made a Sacrifice to Peace, I forbear to ſay, till I have in the ſecond place ſhewn, as I promiſed, that ſomething muſt be forgon for it.

2. It was a worthy and memorable ſaying of *Eraſmus*, *Mihi ſanè adeò inviſa eſt diſcordia, ut veritas etiam diſpliceat ſeditioſa.* He did not onely ſuſpect that Propoſition was not true, that was not alſo peaceable, but he thought Peace not too dear at the price of ſome Truth. And he that pretends ſo high a value for the latter, as to have no eſteem for the former, neither underſtands the one nor the other.

Greg. Nazianz. puts this Queſtion, τί τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων κάλλιστον; and anſwers, εἰρήνη, προαθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ λυσιτελέστατον, That peace is not onely the moſt beautiful flower in the Garden of Chriſtianity, but alſo the moſt ſoveraign and uſeful. Though it be commonly dealt with as ſome famed beauty, admired and courted, but not eſpouſed.

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The Apoſtle, when *Rom.* 12. 18. he ſo paſſionately exhorts, *If it be poſſible, and as far as in you lyes, have peace with all men,* ſurely did not mean, that we ſhould onely accept of Peace when it is offered us for nothing, or be quiet till we can pick a quarrel; but that we ſhould be at ſome coſt to purchaſe it, and part with ſomething for it, and deny our ſelves ſomething which (but upon that account) we might lawfully have enjoyed.

It is true we may buy Gold too dear, and ſo we muſt have done our Peace, if we ſought it at the hands of thoſe Huckſters of the Church of *Rome*, as I ſhewed before. But that we cannot reaſonably expect it for nothing in any Society in the World, I think is demonſtratively evident by this one conſideration, That there are ſcarcely any intellectual *Menæchmi*, I mean hardly any two perſons perfectly of the ſame apprehenſion or ſtature of underſtanding in the whole world. So much difference there is in mens Conſtitutions, ſuch diverſity of Education, ſuch variety of Intereſts and Cuſtoms, and from hence ſo many kinds of Prejudices and various Conceptions of things, that he that reſolves to yield to no body, can agree with

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no body, and conſequently cannot be happy in any Church or Society on this ſide of Heaven. There indeed ſome think mens minds ſhall be all of one capacity, but whatever be the truth in that particular, I much doubt, whether thoſe perſons will ever make up that Society of the Church Triumphant, that think themſelves bound to diſturb the ſtate of the Church Militant, unleſs all things fall in with their own humour. For every peaceable man ſees he muſt either go out of the world, or ſet it all in flames if he will not ſubdue his own paſſion, and caſtigate his heat; That he muſt ſuffer ſhipwrack in the tempeſtuous Seas of diſpute and contentions, if he will not, both take in his ſails, and lighten the Ship by caſting overboard the fardles of his private phancies and opinions. He that will require all other men ſhould aſſent to what he thinks, and will conceal nothing he is perſwaded of, and yet expect to live in peace, muſt either have very little wit or extraordinary fortune. And he that will bear nothing that God hath not expreſly impoſed upon him, nor part with any thing he may lawfully keep, nor offer any Sacrifice to thoſe touchy Deities, received Cuſtome and vulgar Opinion, muſt expect often to feel the effects of their rage and power. In ſumm, he that will

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ſacrifice nothing to publick tranquillity, muſt be ſure to live in perpetual flames here, whatſoever become of him hereafter.

The Apoſtle was not, certainly, of this ſtubborn humour, who declares of himſelf that he *became all things to all men, that he might gain ſome. To the Jews he became as a Jew to gain the Jews; to them that were without Law as without Law; to them that were weak he became as weak too*, 1 Cor. 1. 20. He was no longer a ſtarcht inflexible Phariſee, but a complaiſant Chriſtian, as ſome perhaps would have called him, a Latitudinarian Apoſtle.

When a whole Council of the apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, *Acts* 15. (which is a paſſage I have often occaſion to mention, and well deſerves to be ſtudied by every peaceable Chriſtian) when I ſay they decreed that the Gentiles ſhould *abſtain from things ſtrangled and from blood*, they deprived them of a great part of their Chriſtian Liberty meerly to conciliate the Jews to them, and required that to be done for peace, that no Law of God otherwiſe required at their hands.

St. *Gregory Nazianzen* affirms of St. *Baſil* that he diſſembled the Coeſſentiality of the Holy

Holy Spirit, and delivered himſelf in ambiguous terms on that great point, leſt he ſhould offend and loſe the weak; which neither would that holy man have done, nor much leſs his eſpecial Friend and admirer have told of him, if either of them had thought it to have been too great a price for the purchaſe.

But we need no other, and can have no greater, inſtance in this caſe than our Saviour himſelf, who when he came into the world complyed with the Rites and Cuſtoms he found, and condeſcended to the very humours of that ſtubborn people amongſt whom he was; he uſed their phraſe in all his diſcourſes; he obſerved their Feaſts, he made his own inſtitutions of Baptiſm and the Lords Supper as conſonant to their Cuſtoms as it was poſſible; to the end that he might not diſturb them with Novelty, but ingratiate himſelf and his Doctrine by theſe complyances. When a certain Tribute was demanded of him, he firſt proves that he was not obliged to pay it, yet leſt he ſhould offend them, determines to pay it, and works a Miracle to inable *Peter* to do it, *Mat.* 17. 27.

What ſhall we ſay to all this? Are theſe Inſtances onely to trace out an example of con-

condeſcenſion in Magiſtrates and Governours to their Inferiours? or are they not moſt certainly as Land-marks to all of what degree or condition ſoever to direct them how to ſteer their courſe, and behave themſelves in order to Peace?

Let me appeal to the Conſciences of men, Is it not plain from hence, that although I be perſwaded ſuch a certain Rite is leſs commendable in it ſelf, yet if it appear to be an inſtrument of Accommodation, that it is therefore in that caſe beſt upon that account? And that ſuch things as are indifferent, or have no eſſential goodneſs of their own, become not indifferent but good, as they are uſeful or neceſſary to that end? Or if I am perſwaded, that ſuch an opinion is more true than that which is publickly received (ſo long as the main Doctrine of Chriſtianity is not in diſpute) I may not for all this conceal it, rather than diſturb the Church? This was the counſel of the famous *Conſtantine* for the preventing and ſilencing diſputes at the Council of *Nice*, though the things in controverſie there, were of a higher nature than ours are. But if any man be not ſatisfied with the Judgement of ſo great and good a Prince, let him go and learn what that of St. *Paul*, Rom. 14. 22. means, *Haſt thou*

V. *Euſeb.* in vita *Conſtant.* lib. 2. chap. 67 & 68.

thou faith? have it to thy ſelf, and that before God. I ſuppoſe no body will imagine that by *Faith* in this Text the Apoſtle means the Doctrine of Chriſtianity; for then the ſenſe ſhould be, that he that underſtands and is inſtructed in the great Doctrine of the Goſpel, ſhould conceal it; which is as far from the mind of the Apoſtle as from the duty of a Chriſtian: Much leſs can it be conceived that by *faith* he ſhould mean the grace or habit of ſaving faith; as if the Apoſtle ſhould adviſe them neither to confeſs with their mouths nor expreſs in their works what they are perſwaded of in their hearts: Either of theſe would be to incourage *Gnoſticiſm* which he every where deteſts. By *Faith* therefore he muſt mean onely a perſwaſion of the lawfulneſs of ſome thing indefferent in it ſelf, ſuch as thoſe matters he had been diſcourſing of, (*viz.*) the eating of certain meats and obſerving of certain dayes; And then his advice is plainly this and no more, That a man ſhould not diſturb or offend others with his private opinions (how true ſoever) in things of an inferiour nature, but content himſelf to enjoy his own ſenſe, between God and his own Conſcience, neither diſturbing publick order nor tempting weak Conſciences therewith.

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In ſhort therefore, it will be no hypocritical tergiverſation, no wrong either to our Religion or to our Conſciences, if when the caſe ſhall ſo require, we change any phraſe of ſpeech, how fit ſoever in our apprehenſion, for one leſs fit, but more acceptable and current; any Rite or Ceremony that we have a great kindneſs for, for one more grateful to others; and that we may comply with the Laws in being, ſo they be not palpably contrary to the Scriptures or common Reaſon, though we think better might be made in their room. And that according to the ſaying of the Lord *Bacon*, *we may take counſel of the elder times what is beſt, but of the preſent times, for what is fitteſt.* And in a word, that we part with all that which is no eſſential point of our Religion, for Charity, which is.

3. Let us now for a Concluſion of this Chapter reflect back upon the aforementioned Catalogue of things in difference, and ſee if they will not all appear to be of ſuch a nature as we have hitherto ſuppoſed them, that is, ſuch as may be fit to become a Peace-offering, and ſacrificed to the Magiſtrate, the Laws and the Church. And that we ſhall be eaſily able to reſolve of, by the help

help of theſe five following Remarques.

1. That the things now ſcrupled in this Church are ſuch as were heretofore ſubmitted to by the moſt Leading men of thoſe that now hereupon depart from it; and if thoſe things were in themſelves lawful then, they cannot change their nature by time, and become unlawful now. It will not be replyed, That then they made no Conſcience of what they did, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected they do but pretend it now; for he that confeſſes a guilt of the ſame kind, ſtrengthens the ſuſpicion of that whereof he is accuſed. But if it be ſaid, they did it Ignorantly then, and now having more light, cannot outface it: To this it will be as eaſie to anſwer, That the ingagements of Intereſt and Prejudice are as lyable to be ſuſpected now, as Ignorance heretofore; eſpecially if we conſider, that there was no appearance of any extraordinary light breaking in, when our troubles and diviſions broke out, but as ſoon as opportunity offered, and occaſion invited, that is, when Laws were laid aſleep, and Authority taken up with other cares, then preſently without further diliberation, all theſe objections ſtart up, and new Models ſet up for themſelves, which if they had been the effect of light and knowledge muſt have proceeded

ceeded gradually in proportion to that, and increaſed by time and deliberation; but this is ſo far from being the caſe, that it is ſcarce (if at all) poſſible to find any objection againſt the Church that is not much elder than he that makes it.

2. Thanks be to God, ſome Non-conformiſts dayly come over to the Church, and thoſe not of the meaneſt Character for ability or piety; but let them bragg of any one if they can find him, that hath ſince the reſettlement of the Church at his Majeſties Reſtauration apoſtatized to them.

Now they muſt be horrible uncharitable that can conclude, either all thoſe that continue in the Church Ignorant, or thoſe that return to it Hypocritical; and if they do not judge ſo, they confeſs the matters in difference to be not certainly evil, but that prejudice hath made them ſeem ſo.

3. That there are men of as clear Underſtanding, as good Life and as comfortable Conſciences in the Society of this Church as are any where elſe to be found; and if ſo (which Impudence it ſelf hath not the face to deny) then there is no capital error in its conſtitution, ſince thoſe three anſwer to the

whole deſign of Chriſtianity; and it can never be, that there ſhould be danger that neither troubles the Conſcience with fears, nor diſplayes it ſelf in a bad Life, nor is diſcoverable by an honeſt heart and ſound underſtanding.

4. The things objected againſt this Church are but at moſt diſputable matters, becauſe all wiſe and good men are not agreed upon them. But that which is *ſub judice*, and yet under diſpute cannot be called *Evil* till the diſpute is ended, and the deciſion made againſt it. And thoſe men have but little value for peace, that will depart from it before they are ſure that truth is on the other ſide.

5. And laſtly, the things ſcrupled in this Church are ſuch as the like may be found and complained of in any Church of the whole world, at leaſt ſince the Apoſtles times. And of this no man can doubt, but he that hath prepared himſelf to be a bold Dogmatiſt and confident Aſſertor, by abandoning himſelf to ſo ſupine a negligence, as neither to underſtand the Hiſtory of the Church of former Ages, nor the preſent ſtate of it in other Countreys. For if the Controverſie were brought to this Iſſue, I durſt give the

the Non-conformiſt leave to chooſe what National Church he will, and of what age he will, and I will undertake to make as many and as rational exceptions againſt that Church whatſoever it be (if we have the Hiſtory and knowledge of it as we have of this) as he hath or can make againſt the Church of *England*.

Now if theſe things be true, as I am confident they will appear upon impartial conſideration, then are the matters of our difference ſuch as I have ſuppoſed, namely, of no greater value, than that we may forgo our private opinion, phancy and cuſtome in and concerning them, for the Peace of the Church. And if we reſolve not to unite our ſelves to the Church whileſt there is any thing of this nature to diſcontent us, it is too much to be feared that Peace will for ever be hid from our eyes. But to prevent that, let me here prevent my ſelf in one thing that will fall in more opportunely hereafter, *viz.* That ſince there is no grand matter of Religion concerned in the Controverſies between us, nor any violation of the Laws of God in our complying with the Laws of this Society, and ſince either *Mahomet* muſt go to the Mountain or the Mountain muſt come to *Mahomet*, *i. e.* one ſide or other muſt yield

we will be perſwaded to think it reaſonable, that the Subject ſhould ſubmit to the Governour, and Opinion give place to an ancient Cuſtome, and Novelty to the Laws in being.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That thoſe that find fault with the Conſtitution of this Church, will never be able to find out or agree upon a better.

IT was ſeaſonable advice which a Member of the Long Parliament is ſaid to have propounded then when all were for pulling down, and Deſolation was called Reformation; *That they ſhould doe well to let the old Building ſtand till they had Materials in readineſs, and were agreed upon a model of a Fabrick to be ſet up in the ſtead of what they deſtroyed.* And not unlike was the Gloſs of the Lord *Bacon* upon the words of the Prophet *Jeremy*, Ch. 6. 16. *Stand upon the ways and inquire for the good way*, &c. that is, ſaith he, *Inquire for a better way, but ſtand upon the old ways till you have diſcovered it.* And agreeably Mr. *Selden*, *Accuratius circumſpiciendæ viæ omnes; de ſemitis antiquis conſulendum, quæ vero ſit optima ſeligenda.* And theſe ſayings are not

more valuable for their weight or elegancy, nor for the reputation of their Authors, than conſiderable in our caſe. We confeſs generally the old way of the Church of *England* to be right for the main, but certain Circumſtantials are uneaſie to ſome of us, and they, till thoſe are redreſt, will proceed no further. But it's reaſonable then we ſhould be able to agree upon and produce a better Model, leaſt inſtead of having a new Church, we have no Church at all.

For, Firſt, It can never be thought by wiſe men that ſuch a Society as a Church, can be conſerved without ſome Rites or other, foraſmuch as no petty Corporation or Company can; nor that God can be worſhipped without all Circumſtance, at leaſt by men, that have bodies and are bound *to glorifie him with their Bodies as well as Souls.*

2. It is as plain, that neither any Society can continue, nor any publick Worſhip be performed, if all Ceremonies and circumſtances, ſuch as of time, place, perſons and the like be left indefinite and undetermined; for who ſhall know whom to obey, whom to hear where to aſſemble, or when to meet, if theſe be not defined?

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3. If therefore there muſt be ſome determination in Circumſtantials, it muſt be made either by God or Man; And whether God hath made any ſuch determination in the caſe we will now conſider; and the rather becauſe this is made a popular Theme to declaim upon againſt the Church, and *jus divinum* is boldly inſtamped upon thoſe Models that have been deſigned to ſupplant it.

Indeed in the Old Teſtament, ſo far as concerned the Temple at *Jeruſalem* and the Worſhip there to be performed, God was very particular in his directions. And we (blind as we are) may diſcern plain reaſon for ſo doing; becauſe both the one and the other, I mean the Temple and the Worſhip to be performed thereat were Myſtical and Figurative, and deſigned by Typical repreſentations to lead that people into ſome apprehenſion of thoſe things that were not then plainly revealed, but were afterwards to be exhibited in the times of the Goſpel. Now if it had been lawful for the *Jews* to have innovated or made alterations in thoſe things whereof they underſtood not the reaſons, they muſt of neceſſity have miſ-guided themſelves and God had loſt the principal end of thoſe inſtitutions. For ſince (as I

ſaid) they had no ſufficient and clear knowledge of the things typified, the change in the Rites, (Which people (ſo in the dark) were likely to make,) muſt of neceſſity have led them further beſide the mark God aimed at; as a Copy the more removes it is from the Original draught, is likely to have leſs of the Life: and ſo the effect would have been, that by thoſe alterations they would not have left themſelves ſo much as the ſhadow, to guide them to the knowledge of the ſubſtance or body.

But in their Synagogue Worſhip it is very obſervable, that they had no ſuch limits ſet them, nor no ſuch punctual directions given them by Divine Revelation, but were wholly Governed by Prudence and the general reaſons of Religion; inſomuch that neither the very building of Synagogues, nor any part of the Worſhip there performed, had any Divine Law concerning it, in all the Old Teſtament, nor indeed was it needfull there ſhould, here being nothing Symbolical (as in the former) but natural Religion, which the notions they had of God, and the common ſenſe of Mankind was ſufficient to guide them in. Or at leaſt, if thoſe common Rules ſhould fall ſhort in any Reſpect, yet by any error of that kind, they could not deprive

prive themſelves of any farther advantage or diſcovery God intended them, as in the Temple Worſhip they might.

Now thus it is in the Goſpel; The Chriſtian Religion being a plain, eaſie, intelligible and rational way of ſerving God, it was not neceſſary that our Saviour or his Apoſtles ſhould curiouſly order, or minutely deſcribe what Rites and Circumſtances ſhould be uſed in it, but might ſafely enough leave thoſe to prudence and expediency; the general reaſon of ſo plain and natural a Religion, being ſufficient to ſecure the Church againſt any capital miſtake. And therefore he that reads the Goſpel without coloured Spectacles, will find that our Saviour made it his buſineſs to expound the Law, to vindicate it from the corrupt gloſſes of the *Jews*, to preſcribe men the Rules of true Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, to raiſe them to a noble and generous pitch, and ſet them an excellent Copy of the Divine Life, and to encourage their endeavours after it, by revealing and demonſtrating the Judgement to come, and the rewards in another world; and never went about the compoſure of Laws either of Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Policy. And for his Apoſtles, they preached the Goſpel of the Kingdom, and gave certain directions

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ſuited to the conditions of the times and places and people reſpectively, but never compoſed a ſtanding Ritual for all after-times; which will be put beyond all diſpute by this one Obſervation, That ſeveral things inſtituted by the Apoſtles in the Primitive Churches and given in command in their Sacred Writings, their Epiſtles, were intended and ſo conſtrued to be obliging onely ſo long as circumſtances ſhould ſtand as then they did, and no longer. Of this nature were the *Feaſts of Love, the Holy Kiſs, the Order of Deaconneſſes*; which things with ſeveral other, are no where, that I know of, now obſerved, nor is any man ſcrupled about the abrogation of them. Which is a plain evidence, that the generality of Chriſtians (where paſſion and prejudice do not miſ-guide them) acknowledge it to have been no deſign of the Apoſtles to have ſtrictly obliged men to a certain form of Rituals.

But beſides all this, the Religion God inſtituted amongſt the *Jews*, was onely fitted to that people, and appropriate to that place and Countrey, and intended to oblige no body elſe. It was contrived on purpoſe to diſtingiſh them from all other people in the world, and therefore is called by the Apoſtle *the middle wall of partition*, Eph.

Eph. 2. 14. And to the end that ſuch ſeparation and diſtance might laſt, the boundaries of their Rituals muſt be immoveable. But the Chriſtian Religion was to throw down all Incloſures, to unite all the world under one Head, and make of all Nations one people, and therefore muſt be left with that freedome as to Circumſtantials, as that all Nations, notwithſtanding their ſeveral Limits, divers Cuſtoms and Forms of Government, might be capable of Receiving it. For as our Saviour tells us, *his Kingdom was not of this world*, ſo he never intended that his Religion ſhould alter the Bounds or change the Cuſtomes, or diſturb the Governments of people; but onely principle the hearts of men with true holineſs and goodneſs, and ſo leave them to their diſtinct Policies. And indeed it was one of the ſingular advantages of the Chriſtian Religion, and that which made it fit to be the Catholick Religion (that is, of all times, Countreys and people) That the external Policy of it being undetermined, it reconciled it ſelf to the condition and ſtate of things where it came, as well as recommended it ſelf to the minds of men by its reaſonableneſs and goodneſs. Hereto agrees the known ſaying of *Optatus Millevitanus*, *Reſpublica non eſt in Eccleſia, ſed Eccleſia eſt in Republica*, That the Church being contained

tained in the Civil Society, conforms it ſelf (as to Externals) to that which contains it.

Upon all which it is exceedingly evident, That it is very unreaſonable to expect, that every Ceremony made uſe of by Chriſtians ſhould be found preſcribed in the Scripture or proved thence, and therefore thoſe that expect to find ſuch definitions in the New Teſtament, do (as they do too often in other caſes, as I have noted heretofore) bring an Old Teſtament Spirit to the writings of the New, and Jewiſh prejudices to the Chriſtian Doctrine. And thoſe that can be ſo fond as to perſwade themſelves they can find ſuch preſcriptions there, it is hard to ſay whether humour or weakneſs doth more betray it ſelf in ſuch pretence; for they catch hold of ſuch weak twigs as no body would do, but in deſperation of other help, and they plead ſuch obſcure paſſages, as it is a wonder if prejudice it ſelf can be contented with them. And in ſhort, they can as little agree amongſt *themſelves* either in the proofs or the things to be proved, as they do with *us*.

4. If then there muſt be ſome determination of Circumſtances or no Society, and God hath made no ſuch determination, what remains,

remains, but that men muſt? And then who fitter than our Governours who beſt underſtand the Civil Policy, and what will ſuit therewith, and with the Cuſtoms and inclinations of the People under their Charge? And when ſuch determination is made, what ſhould hinder us from obedience and conformity thereto, eſpecially when the particulars ſo determined, (as they are not enjoyned by Scripture, ſo) are not contrary to it, or forbidden by it?

I conclude therefore, Whoſoever ſhall go about to diſturb a ſetled Order, concluded on by good and wiſe men, reverenced and admired by others, incorporated into the Laws of the Land, rivetted by Cuſtom, and that hath now given proof of it ſelf by above an hundred years experience, for the ſake of new and unpracticable Notions ſhall little conſult the real advantage of the preſent Generation, and leſs their own reputation for diſcretion with Poſterity.

This occaſion brings to my mind, the famous Story of *Pacavius Calavius* of *Capua*: The people were all in a rage againſt their Senate; and would needs in a hurry have them all depoſed, and have uſed other outrages to their perſons. This wiſe Plebeian ſhuts

ſhuts up the Senators all together, and puts a Guard upon them, and then coming to the people, tells them, all was in their power now, adviſes them to determine their ſeveral fates according to their demerits one by one. This they very readily hearkened to. But as they paſt a Doom upon any one, he approves the Sentence, but before the execution perſwades them, to bethink themſelves of another and better man to be in his Room, ſince a Senate they could not be without. But here the buſineſs ſtuck, as he had foreſeen it would, the people who agreed unanimouſly againſt the old Senator, could by no means accord who ſhould ſucceed, one named this perſon and another that, but whoſoever was named by one party was rejected by another; that in concluſion as great a pique as they had conceived againſt the old Senate, for want of agreement in better men to fill their places, they were conſtrained to continue them in. I onely make this application of the Story, That it is eaſie and obvious to find fault with things preſent, but not ſo to find better for the future. And till that can be done, 'tis neither juſt to call any thing evil that is beſt of its kind, nor done like wiſe men, to quarrel with a Church for

for ſome infirmities which we know the worſt of by long experience; leſt thereby we come to have either none at all, or ſuch an one as may give us cauſe ſadly to repent our choice.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

That God laies very little ſtreſs upon Circumſtantials in Religion.

TO make that which we have hitherto diſcourſed the more clear and convictive, and to eaſe the minds of men of their ſcrupuloſities and ſuperſtitious fears, let it be conſidered in the next place, That even then when God Almighty did with the moſt punctuality preſcribe the Ceremonies and Circumſtantials of Religion, he never laid ſuch ſtreſs upon them, but that ſo long as the main of Religion was provided for, and the ſubſtance of his Inſtitutions obſerved, Alterations might be and were made in thoſe leſſer matters without his offence.

And if this be made appear, it will tend to beget in men better notions of God, and better meaſures of Religion, as well as diſpoſe them to Conformity to the Church of *England*. For they will have no reaſon then

to think of God as a captious Deity that watches advantages againſt his Creatures, nor make Religion a piece of nice ſcrupuloſity, and conſequently will neither *ſwallow Camels, nor ſtrain at Gnats*, but ſerve God with the generoſity of a free and a comfortable mind.

Now to this purpoſe it will not be unuſeful, to take notice of a diſtinction mentioned by *Maimonides*, "That the *Jews* ac-"knowledge ſome things in their Law to "be *primæ intentionis*, and ſome things "*ſecundæ*; That there were ſome things "God required for themſelves as being in-"trinſecally good, and that other things were "onely required for the ſake of, and in or-"der to, the former. The firſt kind that were *eſſentially good*, were alſo *abſolutely neceſſary*, and never could be otherwiſe, ſuch as we call *moral Duties*. The latter kind were of ſo indifferent a nature, as that not onely they might *not have been commanded*, but alſo having been commanded, they may in ſome caſes *not be a Duty*; An inſtance whereof (though the *Jews* were a great while before they underſtood it, and ſoundly ſmarted for their Ignorance) is that Maxim they have now generally received, *Periculum vitæ diſſolvit Sabbatum.* But

the fulleſt inſtance of the kind, is that which is remembred by Mr. *Selden* in his Book *de jure Naturali Gentium, lib.2.cap.*10. "That in caſe of ſickneſs a *Jew* might not "onely eat ſuch meats as were otherwiſe for-"bidden, but (ſay they) for the recovery "of his health, or avoidance of any great "danger, he might break any Precept, ſave "only thoſe three great ones againſt Idolatry, "Murder and Inceſt.

But theſe things come not home to my purpoſe, onely I note them, to ſhew that that ſuperſtitious people had ſome general notice, that God did not ſo preciſely animadvert in little matters, ſo the great were minded.

That which I chooſe to inſiſt upon for the evidencing of this Obſervation, is the *Paſſeover*, which was a great Sacrament inſtituted by God himſelf upon weighty reaſons, made a *Statute for ever throughout their generations, and the ſoul that obſerved it not was to be cut off from among his people*, Exod. 12. And in the eleventh verſe of that Chapter the moſt minute circumſtances are defined, amongſt other that they *ſhould eat the Paſſeover with ſtaves in their hands, ſhooes on their feet, and their loins girt*; by which expreſſions is plainly intimated (and accordingly

accordingly they underſtood and practiſed) that they ſhould eat it in the poſture of ſtanding.

Nevertheleſs it is well known, that when they were come into the Land of *Canaan* to ſetled habitations, they ate it ſitting or lying according to the uſual cuſtome of feaſting in thoſe Countreys. And this change continued all along till the time of our Saviour, without any reproof from God, and our Saviour himſelf conforms to them herein, and in the ſame poſture eats the Paſſover with his Diſciples.

Now this is the rather obſervable, becauſe whenas the poſture enjoyned by God, was ſymbolical of the haſte in which they went out of *Ægypt*, They in the change aforeſaid inſtituted a Ceremony which was ſymbolical too, but quite of another matter, namely, of the reſt and peace God had now given them in the good Land of *Canaan*. And all this alteration made upon prudential conſiderations, and the reaſon of the thing, without any warrant from God for their direction, or check for the change.

Let us take another Inſtance; Though God had ſo carefully deſcribed the circum-

ſtances of the *Temple-worſhip* (as I have ſhewed before, and the eſpecial reaſons of ſo doing) yet we find *David* diſtributing the Prieſts into Orders for the conveniency of their Miniſtration, which might have been called an Innovation in Religion: but beſides that, he inſtituted inſtrumental Muſick to be uſed in the Worſhip of God without any Commiſſion from God (that appears.) And yet this novelty alſo was ſo far from incurring any reprehenſion, that it was thenceforward conſtantly retained and made uſe of.

1 Chron. 23. 5, 6.

I might for the fuller Evidence of this notion obſerve, That though God had with great ſolemnity inſtituted *Sacrifices* as the means of propitiating his Divine Majeſty towards ſinful men, and had with great accuracy preſcribed the Laws thereof, yet he puts a great ſlight upon all of that nature, as a thing he regarded not in compariſon with the ſubſtantial points of Vertue and Obedience. Particularly, Pſal. 50. ver. 8. *I will not reprove thee for thy ſacrifices*, &c. v. 14. *Offer to God the ſacrifices of righteouſneſs.* As if he had ſaid, let me have theſe latter, and I ſhall not much complain for defect of the former. But eſpecially Micah 6. 7. *Will the Lord be pleaſed with thouſands of Rams, or*

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ten thouſands of rivers of Oyl, &c. *but he hath ſhewed thee O man what is good, and what doth the Lord thy God require of thee but to do juſtly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?* For a full explication of all which and ſeveral other paſſages of Scripture to the ſame purpoſe, that Aphoriſm ſo frequently made uſe of by our Saviour upon ſeveral occaſions will be very conſiderable, *I will have mercy and not ſacrifice.* Particularly *Matth.* 12. when the Phariſees who were mighty curious of little things, cenſured the Diſciples of our Lord for violating the Sabbath in their rubbing the Ears of Corn as they went through the Fields and were hungry on that day, our Saviour anſwers, *That David did alſo break one of the Ceremonial Precepts in eating the Shewbread*, and ver. 7. tells them *If they had known what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not ſacrifice, they would not have condemned the innocent.* Where though it be ſure enough, that God did not repeal his Law of Sacrificing by enjoyning Mercy, yet it is ſufficiently intimated, that God doth not onely prefer Moral acts before Ceremonial, but alſo doth make great allowances, limitations and exceptions in the one caſe and not in the other. For it is as if our Saviour had ſaid, *Had you Cenſorious Phariſees, underſtood ei-*

their God or Religion as ye might and ought to have done, ye would have known that ſo long as there is not contumacy and contempt in the neglect of thoſe rituals, but the excuſe of a juſt neceſſity, or the rational conſideration of a greater good to preponderate the omiſſion, God doth not impute it for a ſin.

And if this was the caſe and condition of things in the Old Teſtament, where God ſeemed ſo punctual in his Preſcriptions, ſo rigorous in his Animadverſions, and where the danger of erring capitally from the deſign of thoſe inſtitutions, by the leaſt deviation from the line of Divine Revelation, was ſo great, as I have ſhewed before; Then certainly in the New Teſtament, where the Divine Wiſdom hath expreſt far leſs concern for ſuch lettle points, may the minds of men be ſecure from ſuch ſuperſtitious fears.

But I will give one Inſtance out of the New Teſtament alſo. When Circumciſion was aboliſhed (the diſtinction betwixt *Jew* and *Gentile* being taken away) and all Believers become the Children of *Abraham*) And when the Apoſtle St. *Paul* had vehemently declaimed againſt the neceſſity, and proclaimed the danger of Circumciſion, as is obvious to any one that reads his Epiſtles; yet this ſame

ſame Apoſtle, *Acts* 16. 1. circumciſes *Timothy*, to the intent that thereby he might render himſelf and his Miniſtry more acceptable to the *Jews*. In which carriage of his he hath beyond all exception demonſtrated to us; that all Ceremonial appendages are perfectly ſubordinate, and ought to yield to the deſigns of Peace, Charity and Edification, as the greater good.

I will conclude this Point with what the Apoſtle concludes his Diſcourſe about eating or not eating of meats ſacrificed to Idols, *Rom.* 14. which created as much diſpute and ſcruple amongſt weak Chriſtians then, as Ceremonies do now. *V.* 17. he ſayes, *The Kingdom of God*, that is the Goſpel, *is not meat and drink*, that is, conſiſts not or layes little ſtreſs upon thoſe nice and perplexing matters, *but in righteouſneſs, peace and joy*: all the weight is laid upon the more ſubſtantial obſervances of a righteous and holy life, and a peaceable ſpirit and converſation. And adds a proof, v. 18. *For he that in theſe things ſerveth Chriſt is approved of God and accepted of men.*

CHAP. VI.

That the Magiſtrate hath Authority to determine ſuch Externals of Religion as are the matters of our diſputes, and what deportment is due from Chriſtians towards him.

HAving ſhewed in the former Chapters, That God hath neither made any exact definition of Religious Circumſtances, nor is very curious about them; further than to ſecure the great things of Chriſtianity; It follows, that then either thoſe leſſer muſt be determined by men, or not at all. It will therefore now be ſeaſonable to inquire what Authority and Intreſt the Magiſtrate hath in this affair.

And although there want not thoſe that (Chamelion like) live upon the air of vulgar applauſe, and get themſelves a reputation of extraordinary zeal by daring to cenſure the actions, and aſperſe the perſons of Magiſtrates,

ſtrates, and with ſuch perſons, he that ſhall vindicate the juſt Rights and Authority of his Superiours, ſhall hardly eſcape the reproach of flattery and time-ſerving; yet being conſcious both of the truth and importance of what I am to ſay, and of the ſincerity of my intentions in ſo doing, I will deliver my ſelf freely in theſe two points.

1. That the Magiſtrate exceeds not his Commiſſion when he interpoſes for the determination of the Circumſtantials of Religion.

2. That common Prudence, Chriſtian Charity and Humility do all require of us to preſume of the wiſdom and reaſonableneſs of ſuch his determinations. The reſult of which two things will be, that it is much more our duty peaceably to comply with and obey them.

1. The former of theſe hath been ſo fully and ſubſtantially proved by the incomparable *Hugo Grotius* in a juſt diſcourſe, and by a late eminent Divine of this Church, that it is enough to refer the Reader to them; yet becauſe ſome perſon may perhaps read theſe Papers, that will not take the paines, or hath not

not opportunity to read thoſe larger Diſcourſes (that yet would better compenſate his labour) I will therefore ſay theſe three things.

1. It is certain, the Magiſtrate had once a power in the Circumſtantials of Religion, and that in the Old Teſtament. *David* (as I have ſhewed before) altered ſome things and inſtituted others even in the Temple-ſervice it ſelf. *Hezekiah* without a Scripture for it, broke the brazen Serpent to pieces, though it was a ſymbolical Ceremony of God's own inſtitution.

2 Ki. 18. 4.

But beſides this, he cauſed the Paſſover to be kept by all *Judah* and *Iſrael* on the ſecond Month, though it was not according to divine inſtitution, but done by the advice of his Council upon pious and prudential conſiderations, 2 *Chron.* 30. 5. It is true indeed, *Numb.* 9. upon appeal to God in a ſpecial caſe, he was pleaſed to declare that ſuch private perſons as ſhould either be in a journey at the ſet time of the Paſſover in the firſt Month, or ſhould otherwiſe by uncleanneſs be incapable of obſerving the Paſſover with all the Congregation of *Iſrael* in the time thereof, ſuch perſons ſhould have leave to obſerve it on the ſecond Month: But this was not a Law for all *Iſrael*, but as I ſaid a ſpecial in-

indulgence to ſome particular perſons. What courſe ſhould be taken if the whole Congregation ſhould happen to neglect the juſt ſeaſon of doing in, was not provided for by any Law; Therefore this religious Prince *Hezekiah* upon prudential conſiderations, not without ſome light from that ſpecial proviſion, determines the caſe.

He appointed alſo the Levites to kill the Paſſover, *v.* 17. which by God's appointment was to have been performed by the people themſelves. And *Chap.* 29. *v.* 34. he prefers the Levites to aſſiſt the Prieſts in killing the other Sacrifices, which never before they were admitted to.

Many other inſtances might be brought out of the Old Teſtament to the purpoſe, but theſe ſufficiently make it appear, that the beſt Princes did not think they exceeded their own bounds, or intrenched upon God, when they prudently ordered ſuch particulars; and they are ſo far from having any blot laid upon their memories for theſe things, that they are recorded to their immortal honour.

Now ſince Magiſtrates had once ſuch a power, how came they to loſe it, or be diveſted

veſted of it? Is it that God is more curious and jealous of every punctilio in his Worſhip now, than he was heretofore? That would be the moſt abſurd ſuppoſition in the world, as we have ſufficiently demonſtrated. And he that without evident proof ſhall go about to deny them what Chriſtanity found them in poſſeſſion of, ſhall do very bad offices to the Religion he pretends ſuch zeal for. For it would be a ſmall encouragement to Princes to entertain and countenance the Chriſtian Religion, if it was told them, That the power which God hath allowed them in the Old Teſtament, was now found too exorbitant, and therefore he had retrencht it in the Goſpel. Would it not mightily move Kings and Princes to become *nurſing fathers* to the Church to hear this Doctrine preached to them?

2. The New Teſtament is frequent in aſſerting the power of Princes and Magiſtrates, and requires all to be ſubject to them and obey them of what quality or condition ſoever, and no where excepts the caſe of Religion; therefore undoubtedly that is under their power, (ſo far I mean as Circumſtantials and thoſe things that God himſelf hath not defined.) For when God hath made them a general commiſſion and made no exception

of

of this Kind, who ſhall put it upon them? If they have not power in ſuch matters of Religion as we ſpeak of, it's manifeſt they have no Magiſtracy or Legiſlative power in Religion at all. And then one would have expected the Text ſhould not have run abſolutely and in general terms, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers*, but with this limitation, in things Civil onely; or at leaſt that ſome other Scripture ſhould have as plainly reſtrained them, as this and other impowers them. Which ſince it is no where done, we wrong both our ſelves and them, to abridge them herein. Beſides that, when our Saviour tells us, *His Kingdom is not of this world*, he ſufficiently intimates, that it was neither neceſſary that he ſhould, and that conſequently he had no intention to alter the forms of Government, or revoke the Authority Governours were in poſſeſſion of.

3. It is generally acknowledged (and accordingly practiſed) that Fathers and Governours of Families have authority in matters of Religion within their own Families, at leaſt ſo far as the caſe in hand. Who doubts but the Father or Head of a Family may preſcribe what Chapters ſhall be read, what Prayers uſed, what Times ſhall be ſet apart for

for Devotion, what Poſtures, whether kneeling or ſtanding, and being uncovered, who ſhall officiate in his Family, and in what Habit, with innumerable others of a like nature? Do the children or ſervants uſe to require of him an expreſs Scripture to authorize his Commands, and to warrant their Conformity, or elſe they will not obey?

And if he in his private capacity and narrow ſphere hath this Authority, with what colour of Reaſon, or with what Modeſty, can every private man deny his Prince what he arrogates to himſelf? One would reaſonably think, that as Civil Government aroſe out of Paternal, it ſhould by inheritance challenge that Authority it was born to; and beſides that, as it hath a larger ſphere and a greater concern, ſo it ſhould have due to it proportionably a greater latitude of Authority.

2. Secondly, If the Magiſtrate may determine thoſe matters, then not onely Chriſtian Charity and Humility, but alſo common Prudence require us to preſume of the Wiſdom and Reaſonableneſs of his Determinations, and much more to obey them.

It is enough to warrant and require our Obe-

Obedience, that a thing is the command of our Superiour, and not beyond the ſphere of his Autority; but if he have not onely Law but Reaſon on his ſide too, then it is both a ſin and a ſhame to diſobey. Now Humility requiring that we think meanly and modeſtly of our own Reaſons, Charity that we judge favourably of anothers, and Prudence that we think beſt of the Magiſtrates; all theſe together make it our duty not onely to obey, but to do it with all chearfulneſs imaginable.

It is as great as it is a common miſtake, to think Charity and Compaſſion onely due from Governours to their Inferiours in the frame and compoſure of their Laws; for it is alſo as due from Inferiours towards them, and that they reciprocally make a fair and candid interpretation of their Injunctions, and that they indiſpoſe not themſelves nor others to obedience by irreverent cenſures of the abilities, and ſuſpicions and jealouſies of the ends and intentions of the Law-makers. It was a ſaying of *Greg. Nazianzen*, well worthy of ſo wiſe and peaceable a man, Βραδὺ εἰς ὑποψίαν κακῶ, τὸ πρὸς κακίαν δυσκίνητον, That any man the more conſcious he is to himſelf of his own honeſty and invincible integrity, ſo much the leſs prone he is to entertain

tertain ſiniſter ſuſpicions of the intentions of others. Chriſtian ſimplicity, as it means no hurt, ſo it doth not eaſily ſuſpect any; and humility and modeſty require, that men think others intend as wiſely and as honeſtly as themſelves. *Charity*, (ſaith the Apoſtle) *hopeth all things, believeth all things, beareth all things.* But it is the Genius of an evil man to ſuſpect every man means miſchief, becauſe he doth ſo himſelf: whereas a good man ſuppoſes every man intendes well (at leaſt till the contrary appear) becauſe conſulting his own breaſt he finds that he doth ſo. For it's natural for all men to take meaſures by themſelves, nor is it more reaſonable that men ſhould do as they would be done unto, than it is common and uſual for men to preſume that of others which they are privy to in their own boſoms,

It was an ingenious Repartee, that *Tertullian* made to the Pagans in his *Apology*; They accuſed *the Chriſtians that in their nocturnal aſſemblies, they took a little Child and ſealed their confederacy by eating the fleſh and drinking the blood of the harmleſs Infant:* But ſaith he, *Since you onely ſuſpect and never ſaw this done, either you could do ſuch a horrid thing your ſelves, and then you are monſtrouſly unnatural; or you could not,*

not, and then you are as unreaſonable to ſuſpect that done by others, which you do not think poſſible to be done by your ſelves.

There is nothing more frequent than for a ſilly man to ſuppoſe there are no other nor better reaſons of things, than what obviouſly appear, becauſe if there be other or better, he cannot reach them. On the contrary, a wiſe man, when the ſurface of things is weak and mean, alwayes imagines there is ſome better foundation at the bottom, becauſe he knows that he himſelf would not be led by ſuch weak conſiderations as thoſe are that appear. If therefore we would approve our ſelves either humble, or charitable, or wiſe, or good, there is no better argument to demonſtrate any of theſe by, than the cenſures we make upon the actions and intentions of others. And if any where it be of importance to give ſuch a teſtimony of our ſelves, and to proceed by ſuch meaſures, it is in the caſe of the Magiſtrate, not onely for the common equity, but alſo upon the account of the dignity of his place as God's Miniſter, and the uſefulneſs and neceſſity of his Office and Miniſtry.

Is it fit, ſaith *Elihu*, Chap. 34. 18. *to be ſaid unto Princes, Ye are ungodly, or to Rulers,*

lers, Ye are wicked? Is it tolerable to repute our Governours Dolts and Ideots? to ſuſpect they have no ſenſe of their duty, or to reproach their Sanctions as Tyrannical, Superſtitious or Antichriſtian? If I muſt put the beſt conſtruction the caſe will bear, upon the Actions of my Equal or Inferiour, will it become me to make the harſheſt interpretation of publick Laws and the Actions of my Superiours?

It was an unhappy ſlip of a great and worthy perſon, whoſe name I will conceal, for the reverence I bear to his profeſſion and worth, when reflecting upon the Statute of the fifth year of Queen *Elizabeth* concerning the *Jejunium Cecilianum* or the *Wedneſday-Faſt*; he calls it *a Law and no Law, a meer contradiction, a piece of nonſence. That it muſt bind the Conſcience if it be a Law, but the Law-makers* (ſaith he) *declare it ſhall not bind the Conſcience, and ſo it is no Law:* with a great deal more to that purpoſe. Now the words of the Statute are theſe; it is declared penal, if any man ſhall ſay, *That this Faſt is enjoyned upon any neceſſity for the ſaving of the Soul or the ſervice of God, otherwiſe than other political Laws be.* Had that excellent perſon read and conſidered theſe words, they would have afforded

afforded him no colour for the aforeſaid imputation; for the Law-makers do not declare, that this Law ſhall not bind the Conſcience, but the contrary, that it ſhall as other Political Laws do: but they take care that the end and reaſon of the Law may be underſtood, which was not Religious but Political (for the maintenance of the Navy) I ſay that clauſe in the Statute had not the leaſt intention of limiting or declaring the obligation of the Law, but onely of preventing rumours of ſuperſtitious deſigns in the end and intentions of the Law-makers. Nor is there any other the leaſt paſſage in the Law that gives countenance to the reflections he makes either upon the Law it ſelf or the Law-makers. And I note it onely for this end, that we may obſerve how much more prone men are to paſs cenſures, than to conſider to the bottom, the true ſtate of the things we paſs ſentence upon.

But to let paſs that as a meer over-ſight, it is intolerable to hear the immodeſt clamours that are raiſed upon meer miſtakes and ſurmiſes. Men, it ſeems, think to recommend themſelves as perſons both of more than ordinary Sagacity and alſo of ſingular purity of Conſcience by finding faults of this kind. Whereas did they indeed conſider

either the divine Image born by Magiſtrates, or the great conſequence of publick Peace, and well weighed how much that depends upon publick reputation and reverence, they would certainly chooſe ſome other ſubject to ſerve thoſe little ends by.

The Scripture calls the Magiſtrates, *Maſters of Reſtraint*, Judges 18. 7. (See the Hebrew) and as ſuch they muſt needs be an eye-ſore and grievance to all looſe and exorbitant perſons, and conſequently it is mightily to their wiſh, that Authority ſhould loſe it's force, and Laws their veneration, and thereby the ſinews of all Society be looſened, that ſo their Extravagancies may be uncontrolled, and their Vices indemnified. Therefore by how much it is the intereſt of all evil men to have Magiſtracy and Laws in contempt, by ſo much is it the wiſdom and concern of all ſober and virtuous men to ſtrengthen thoſe hands that others would enfeeble, and ſupport that reputation they would infringe and violate. And thoſe that conſider this, will not out of levity, wantonneſs or raſhneſs, controll Laws, or diſpute with Magiſtrates about ſmaller matters, leſt they thereby render them unable to protect them in their greater and more important concerns.

Nos

Nos ipſius Dei imperium in Imperatoribus ſuſpicimus, ſaid *Tertullian* in the name of the Chriſtians in his time. They then made their interpretation of Authority and Laws in favour of obedience and of the Governour; they did not, as St. *James* expreſſes it, inſtead of *being Doers of the Law*, *make themſelves Judges of the Law*, and Law-makers too.

Nor will it be either a fooliſh charity or a blind obedience, to permit our ſelves to the conduct of our Superiours in thoſe little matters we diſcourſe of, ſince we have great reaſon to perſwade our ſelves, that as thoſe that ſtand higher than we, may ſee further, ſo thoſe that are concerned for the whole may give a better judgement, than thoſe that reſpect but a part. And that we our ſelves may as eaſily lye under prejudice as they; and be as much tranſported with conſideration of Eaſe and Liberty, as they may probably be ſuſpected to be with Ambition. For why may not they have a reaſon for their actions which either we cannot reach, or are not come to the knowledge of? Eſpecially ſince that may be beſt for the whole, that is leſs commodious to us in particular; and by being ſo, it is not made unlawful for

him (that hath the charge and overſight of the whole) to command, nor warrantable for us to diſobey. *Nulla lex ſatis commoda omnibus, id modò quæritur ſi majori parti & in ſummum prodeſt*, ſaid *Cato* in *Livy*.

Beſides, (as I have intimated before) There are no leſs different capacities of mind than conſtitutions of body, and as great a difference in mens outward cicumſtances as in either of the former; therefore neither can the reaſons of Laws be equally underſtood, nor the matter of Laws or the things impoſed be equally eaſie and accommodate to the practice of all men. And conſequently thoſe that would have the Laws exactly fitted to their own humour, without reſpect to other men, imitate the barbarous cuſtom of the infamous *Procruſtes*, who is ſaid to have either rackt all thoſe perſons that fell into his hands, and ſtretcht them to his own ſize, if they were too ſhort, or cut them off to his own proportion, if they were too long: So theſe men would exerciſe the ſame cruelty themſelves, which they forbid the Magiſtrate, and lay down a principle of equal ſeverity towards others, as of fondneſs and indulgence to themſelves.

Till

Till we can reconcile the divers Conſtitutions (I ſay) of mind and body, the ſeveral humours and contrary Intereſts of all men to one ſtandard, it will be impoſſible, that the wiſeſt Conſtitutions imaginable, ſhould prevent all ſcruple, or be alike acceptable to all Parties. Either therefore there muſt be no Laws made, which muſt be the ruine of the whole, or one of the Parties muſt be content upon the account of publick good, that their private Intereſts or Opinions be leſs complyed with: that is, Since the Laws cannot be fitted to every man, ſome men muſt fit and accommodate themſelves to the Laws. And this being reſolved on, the onely queſtion remaining will be, on which of the Parties this ſhall fall; that is, which ſhall bend to the Law. And the deciſion of this will be very eaſie; for though on the one ſide Self-love and favour to our own Perſwaſion incline us to contend for the eaſe and incouragement of our own way, yet Chriſtian Charity on the other ſide, requires as great a condeſcenſion to our Brethren. And if now the ſcales ſeem even, then certainly the conſideration of the Magiſtrate and Laws in being will be of weight enough to turn the balance, and that Humility and Obedience our Religion teaches, will prevail with us to leave it to publick

Wiſdom to decide between both Parties.

And then the reſult of all will be, that inſtead of preſcribing to the Magiſtrate what he ſhall determine, or diſputing what he hath concluded on; we ſhall compoſe our minds and order our circumſtances to the more eaſie and cheerful complyance therewith. And call to mind the ſaying of *Paulus Æmilius*, who when ſeveral of his Souldiers would be ſuggeſting to him their ſeveral Models of management, *Vos gladios acuite, bids them whet there ſwords and be ready to execute what ſhould be commanded them, but leave the management of affairs to him their General.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Wherein Chriſtian Liberty conſiſts; and that it doth not diſcharge us from Obedience to Laws.

ALL that we have hitherto diſcourſed of the Power of the Magiſtrate, ſome think may be avoided by pleading the *Magna Charta* of *Chriſtian Liberty* contained in the Goſpel. It will therefore be neceſſary in the next place to conſider the true notion and extent of that.

That there is ſuch a Charter is out of doubt, the New Teſtament frequently making mention of it, putting of us in mind of the *gratitude* we owe to him that purchaſed it for us, of *the price it coſt him*, and requiring us to *ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made us free*, Gal. 5. 1.

But what are the Contents of it, is not ſo well agreed on; and indeed it is too evident

dent that few of thoſe that contend ſo much for it, and plead it upon all occaſions, know what it is, or wherein it conſiſts. It was a ſmart Anſwer of a *Spartan* Captive, who being expoſed to ſale in the Market, and there askt (as the manner was) by one that came to buy Slaves, *quid ſciret, what he was good for, what buſineſs he underſtood: anſwered, Scio quid ſit liberum eſſe, I know what belongs to freedom.* Had *Chriſtian Liberty* been all along as well underſtood as talked of, the Religion had obtained more Reputation, the Church more Peace, States and Kingdoms more Security, and more Souls had gone to Heaven: but for want of this, men have committed as groſs errors as that *Tully* complains of *Clodius* for, That he ſet up *Simulacrum Meretricis Tanagrææ, The Image of a famous Harlot for that of Liberty.*

The *Gnoſticks* about the Apoſtles times pleaded *Chriſtian Liberty*, both on the behalf of their cowardly Revolts from Chriſtianity in times of Perſecution, and of their ſenſual Debaucheries: as if the knowledge of the Truth gave a priviledge neither to profeſs nor practiſe it, when either the one proved too incommodious to their Secular Intereſts, or the other too

too diſguſtful to their ſenſual inclinations.

Others, and they alſo in the firſt times of Chriſtianity, thought Chriſtian Liberty had been a Civil Infranchiſement, and had extended ſo far as to cancel all bonds of peoples ſubjection to their Princes, or of Servants to their Maſters; and hereupon like the pretence of zeal amongſt the *Jews* (in their degenerate times) Chriſtian Liberty was the Paſsport of fugitive ſervants, and the pretext for Outrages and Rebellions. And this made it neceſſary for the Apoſtles almoſt in all their Writings to preſs Obedience to Superiours.

A third ſort of men have miſtaken this Goſpel Liberty to be a diſcharge from the obligation of the Moral Law, and have been ſo prodigiouſly abſurd as to take the Goſpel to contain nothing elſe properly, but a publication of God's Promiſes or Decrees rather, and to require onely a bare aſſent to them or belief of them, and that thoſe Promiſes are abſolute and without any condition of our obedience, ſave onely as that ſhould reciprocally become us by way of gratitude, not that juſtification or ſalvation depended upon it. This is the Doctrine of the *Antinomians* or modern Libertines, and

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is a perſwaſion fit to debauch the whole World, were it not that few men can be ſo unreaſonable as to believe it, though they would. But it is ſo contrary to the very name and nature of a Covenant, which the Goſpel is ſtyled to be, ſo expreſly contrary to the whole deſign of Chriſtian doctrine, and goes ſo croſs to the very ſenſe of every honeſt mind, that I ſhall not ſpend any more time or words about it.

There is a fourth miſtake, which (though I will not ſay it is equally dangerous with any of the former, yet) is miſchievous enough and equally falſe. *That though the bonds of Civil Subjection are not quite diſſolved by the Goſpel, yet that all Chriſtians are diſcharged from the interpoſitions of the Magiſtrate in affairs of Religion, and that there he ought no further to intermeddle, than he can produce expreſs warrant from Scripture for his particular Injunctions. But if notwithſtanding the Governour ſhall arrogate to himſelf a larger ſphere of Authority, and make any definitions in Religion, or eſpecially the matters of the firſt Table, It is then and in that caſe not onely lawful for a good Chriſtian to refuſe Obedience, but that it is his duty ſo to do, to withſtand an Invaſion of his Chriſtian Liberty, and*

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an incroachment upon the Prerogative of God.

This is the miſtake that is moſt rife amongſt us, and which hath given occaſion to much of the unhappineſs of this Age. It is not my work laborioufly to confute this opinion, nor do I think many words neceſſary in the caſe, yet of the many abſurd conſequences let us note theſe following.

1. This opinion makes all Civil Government the moſt tickliſh and uncertain, and the condition of Magiſtrates the moſt ſervile and precarious, that can well be imagined; foraſmuch as there is ſcarcely any thing can fall under their care and cognizance, or that is capable to be made matter of Law or Injunction, but hath ſuch affinity to, or connexion with Religion, as to be ſufficient (upon this principle) to raiſe a diſpute of Juriſdiction.

So that the caſe between the Civil Laws and Religion will be like the condition of affairs that often happens in thoſe places where the Supremacy of the Pope and Court of *Rome* is received, there is a perpetual contention about bounds and limits of Juriſdiction between the Civil and Eccleſiaſti-

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cal Courts: for whileſt the Civil Judge goes about to take cognizance of the cauſe, the Eccleſiaſtical will (it may be) challenge the perſon as belonging to his Juriſdiction: or if the perſon be Laick and *alieni fori*, yet it will go hard but the cauſe ſhall be found to have ſome connexion with Religion, and ſo the Eccleſiaſtical Court either directly or *in ordine ad ſpiritualia* draws all matters to it.

And not unlike was the ſtate of affairs a long while together in the Kingdom and Church of *Scotland* by virtue of this very perſwaſion. The Prince or the State could enact nothing almoſt but the *Kirk-men* found themſelves grieved and Religion concerned, and Excommunication is denounced: The *Kirk* on the other ſide make their Decrees, and the Civil Power declares them null, and grants Prohibitions, &c. He that will ſatisfie himſelf of the truth of theſe things and thereby convince himſelf of the miſchief of the Principle we are ſpeaking of, let him read the Judicious Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland* written by the Moſt Reverend Arch-Biſhop *Spotſwood*: And he ſhall find that this unhappy notion raiſed and maintained for many years a *bellum limitaneum*, and that it is like the Marches or bateable ground betwixt

twixt two bordering Potentates, a Scene of contention and a field of blood. Whereas did we agree of certain Limits, and make the Magiſtrates Power and Province extend to all that which God hath not taken in by expreſs Law, both God's Glory and the Magiſtrates Authority would be kept entire, and there would be neither cauſe nor room for Controverſie.

2. This opinion at once condemns all the States and Kingdoms in the whole world of Impiety and Irreligion, foraſmuch as there neither is, nor ever hath been any ſuch conſtitution as hath not had ſome Laws of Religion that could not be deduced particularly from the Scriptures. And ſo he that is of this perſwaſion and will be true to it, is bound in Conſcience to be a Rebel whereever he lives.

3. It is an unreaſonable Fear, a meer melancholy Jealouſie, and expreſs Superſtition inſtead of Religion, to ſuſpect that either the Magiſtrate can offend in making, or the people in obeying ſuch Laws as (though they are not expreſly warranted, yet) are no where forbidden by the Scripture. For it is a ſuppoſition that a man may be a Sinner, when yet he breaks no Law, contrary to the

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expreſs words of St. *John*, 1 *Ep.* 3. 4. who defineth Sin to be *a tranſgreſſion of a Law.* And as is the uſual Genius of all Superſtition, it miſ-repreſents God as cruel and tyrannical, that can condemn men *ex poſt facto*, for doing of that againſt which there was no Law in being. But,

4. Which is moſt obſervable, this Doctrine inſtead of aſſerting Chriſtian Liberty, in truth ſubverts it, and layes far more ſevere bonds upon the Conſciences of men than the very Law of *Moſes* did. That was a yoke (ſay the Apoſtles, Acts 15. 10.) *which neither we nor our Fathers were able to bear*, upon this account, eſpecially, becauſe it injoyned a great number of little Obſervances, which by their multitude were hard to be remembred, by their nicety difficult to be obſerved, and by their meer poſitive nature, and having no eſſential goodneſs in themſelves had leſs power upon the Conſciences of men to awaken their care and diligence about them. It is manifeſt that Law contained no precept that was in it ſelf impoſſible to be performed, but becauſe it is hard for the mind of man to attend to many things at once, eſpecially if alſo the things in which his care and obedience is required be ſuch, as are not enacted in his Conſcience, and when

when he can ſee no other reaſon of, or advantage by his obedience, but meerly his obedience, therefore was that Law called impoſſible. Now if a man were bound by the Goſpel to avoid all thoſe particulars that were commanded by *Moſes*, it is plain, the ſervitude and the difficulty would be the ſame; but if not onely ſo, but he be alſo bound to avoid all that which the Scripture is ſilent in, his obligation is infinite, and his ſervitude intollerable. For Poſitives are determinate and definite, and ſo fall more eaſily within our care and attention: but Negatives are infinite, and therefore ſuch a yoke muſt be properly impoſſible.

Theſe miſtakes therefore being removed, The true notion of Chriſtian Liberty will beſt be underſtood, if we conſider, That in the times of the Old Teſtament, the viſible Church of God was incloſed within a narrow pale, and none could be members of it, without ſubmiſſion to Circumciſion and the other Rites of *Judaiſm*. Whence it came to paſs, that at the firſt publication of the Goſpel it was a riddle and an aſtoniſhment to the very Apoſtles themſelves, that the *Gentiles* were to be taken into it. And when the effecting this was taken in hand, *Acts* 15. 1. the Jewiſh Chriſtians ſtood upon

their priviledge, and would not admit the *Gentile* Converts into Society, nor become of one body with them, unleſs they would *be circumciſed and keep the Law.* Hereupon a Council is called, and there the Apoſtles find out a temper and middle way for both parts to meet in for the preſent, which was that the *Gentile* Converts ſhould ſubmit to the terms of Proſelytiſm at large, or the precepts given to the ſons of *Noah,* as ſome underſtand the paſſage, or (as is indubitable) that they ſhould comply with the *Jews* in abſtaining *from things ſacrificed to Idols, from fornication, from things ſtrangled, and from blood.* And on the other ſide, the *Jewiſh* Converts ſhould abate of their rigour, and not require of the *Gentiles* the ſtrict terms of compleat *Judaiſm.* At which deciſion the *Gentile* Chriſtians were tranſported with Joy, *rejoyced at the conſolation,* v. 31.

For (as I ſaid) till then, none could be of the ſame body with the *Jews* in reſpect of viſible Church Society, without Circumciſion and univerſal ſubmiſſion to the Law of *Moſes.* This therefore was an expedient for the preſent till the *Jews* ſhould be by degrees better inſtructed in the liberty of that Chriſtian Religion they had lately received. But when the Goſpel was fully publiſhed, then

then the aforeſaid Incloſure is laid open, and all Nations invited into the Society of the Church upon equal terms, neither party being bound to thoſe nice Laws of *Moſes*, nor any other but thoſe plain and reaſonable ones contained in the Goſpel, and ſuch other (not contradictory to them) as publick Wiſdom, Peace and Charity ſhould dictate and recommend.

And to this purpoſe is the obſervation of *Euſebius* in his *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, That Chriſtianity is nothing elſe but the old Patriarchal Religion revived, and therefore is but a reſtitution of that Primitive ſimplicity and liberty that was before the Law of *Moſes*, and that now there lyes no more bonds upon the Conſciences of Chriſtians, than did upon the Ancient Patriarchs, ſaving thoſe improvements our Saviour hath made upon the Law of Nature, and thoſe few poſitive Inſtitutions of his, expreſly ſet down in the Goſpel. And that men obeying theſe are at liberty to conform to whatſoever common reaſon and equity, or publick Authority ſhall impoſe. And this diſcourſe of *Euſebius* is in effect the ſame with that of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 4. 11, 12, &c. and *Gal.* 3. eſpecially *v.* 19. where he puts this queſtion, *Wherefore then ſerved the Law?* he anſwers, προσετέθη, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 5.

it was added, &c. it was a kind of *interim*, or like a *parentheſis*, which when it ſhall be left out the former and latter parts joyn together again, without any interruption of the ſenſe. That is when this *interim* or temporary proviſion of the Law ſhall be taken away, the Primitive Patriarchal Religion and that brought in by our Saviour ſhall ſeem to be of one piece, the latter beginning where the formed ended.

The Contents then of the great Charter purchaſed for us, and brought in by our Lord *Jeſus*, are theſe; That beſide the freeing of us from the power and dominion of ſin, which the Law of *Moſes* could not doe, and from the Tyranny of Sathan which the *Gentile* world lay under till Chriſt came; I ſay beſides theſe (which are no matters of our preſent diſpute) our Chriſtian Infranchiſement diſcharges us not onely from a neceſſity of obſerving the *Moſaick* Law and Rites of *Judaiſm*, but further and eſpecially ſets our Conſciences at Liberty to purſue our own Reaſon, and to obey any Laws of men that ſhall not contradict the expreſs Laws of the Goſpel. That we are as perfectly free as thoſe were that lived before any Scripture was written, as to all thoſe things that are not determined in thoſe Scriptures; and that

that within all that ſphere we may without guilt or burden upon our Conſciences, ſerve all the intereſts of peace and order in the world. And conſequently that neither the Magiſtrate need to fetch a particular warrant from the Scripture to authorize his Preſcriptions nor we an expreſs licence thence to legitimate our reſpective obedience; but the former may freely conſult his own reaſon, common prudence and the intereſt of his Government, and the latter their own peace and tranquility.

This is true and real Freedom, when with a good and a quiet Conſcience we may conform our ſelves to the Wiſdom of our Superiours, and the intereſts of Society; when I have a power *in utramque*, and may doe or leave undone all thoſe matters that are not defined in Scripture, according as publick Laws and the ends of all Society ſhall require.

And that this is the true notion of Chriſtian Liberty will appear further by this, That the Apoſtle in ſeveral of his Epiſtles, but eſpecially that to the *Romans*, injoyns the Chriſtians in their ſcruples about Eating or not Eating of certain Meats, and in the conduct of themſelves in all ſuch matters,

to *conſult Charity towards their weak Brethren, the peace of the Church, and their own edification*; that is, ſuch principles of reſolving ſcruples as before I deſcribed, and bids them not aply themſelves to any Scripture, or to expect a determination of ſuch queſtions thence. See *Rom.* 14. 3, 5, 13, 14, 15, 19. and *Chap.* 15. *v.* 2, *&c.* From whence theſe two things follow.

1. That Chriſtian Liberty doth conſiſt in a freedom *in utramque*, that is, that antecedently to the conſiderations of Prudence, Peace and Charity, it is equally in the power of a Chriſtian to doe or not doe any or all thoſe things that are not expreſly forbidden by the holy Scriptures: and that where the Scripture is ſilent the Conſcience is free in the general, and onely to be determined by thoſe conſiderations.

That it is no infringement, but an exerciſe of this liberty, actually to be determined to that ſide towards which Prudence or Charity ſhall incline, though in the mean time the other ſide be in the general as lawfull as that. Hence it is that we find liberty and condeſcenſion or ſelf-denyal joyned together by St. *Paul*, Gal. 5. 13. *Ye have been called unto liberty, onely uſe not liber-*

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ty as an occaſion to the fleſh, but by love ſerve one another; and by St. *Peter*, 1 Ep. 2. 16. *As free, yet not uſing your liberty as a cloke of maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God.* Which two places are ſo clear in themſelves, as no Commentary can make them more ſo, and ſo full to our purpoſe, that nothing further can reaſonably be deſired.

And ſo theſe two points thus gained, will give abundant foundation for a third to be inferred from them, *viz.* That whatſoever is ſo free to me that I may doe it or not doe it, according as I ſhall be inclined by the conſideration of Brotherly Charity and Compaſſion, muſt of neceſſity be alſo as free to me to obey the Magiſtrate and ſerve publick Peace and Order in, whithout either proſtitution of my Liberty, or violation of Gods right and prerogative. For whatſoever I may doe in compaſſion to my Brothers infirmity, ſurely that I may much more doe in reverence to Gods Ordinance, the Lawfull Magiſtrate; which is the point we have all this while drove at.

CHAP. VIII.

Of a Tender Conſcience, what it is, and its Priviledges

IF pleading our Charter of Chriſtian Liberty will not give us a diſcharge from Obedience to our Superiours, whether in things Sacred or Civil, (as I have proved it cannot,) yet poſſibly the plea of a *Tender Conſcience* may.

This is thought to have not onely a Priviledge, but a kind of Prerogative, to carry with it an exemption from all humane Laws whatſoever, but eſpecially Eccleſiaſtical. It pretends to be Gods *peculiar*, and *exempt* from any inferiour cognizance, like the Monaſtick Orders of the Church of *Rome*, which are immediately and onely ſubject to the Pope, ſo this to God's Tribunal and none elſe: Nay it looks like a Dictatorian Authority, and ſeems to be *legibus ſoluta*. This (they would make us believe) can limit the Magiſtrate,

giſtrate, null Laws, forbid execution, and which is yet more, change the very nature of things, and make that good and holy which was wicked and rebellious before. This can canonize any Opinion, legitimate any action, warrant any extravagancy in the perſon that owns it. The man of a Tender Conſcience may paſs all guards; all mounds and barrs that are ſet to confine others, muſt de open to him, *He is a righteous man, and for him there is no Law*, no controllment, no puniſhment. The tenderneſs of his Conſcience is an inviolable Sanctuary, and he that meddles with ſuch a man, is a *fighter againſt God*. Make uſe of the beſt arguments to convince him, diſcourſe to him with the greateſt evidence, he is not bound to hear you, his Conſcience is his Prieſt, Prophet and King too, he hangs and draws and all within himſelf (as we ſay;) whatſoever he *thinks* can be no hereſie, and whatſoever he *does* can be no ſin.

Unleſs therefore we can pull down this Uſurper, we muſt look for no Magiſtracy, and except we diſcover the weakneſs and abſurdity of this pretenſion, all endeavours of reſtoring Uniformity in the Church will be vain and uſeleſs. Let us 1. Therefore conſider what *Conſcience* is in general, and then

then we ſhall better come to underſtand the grounds and ſtrength of this mighty pretender: 2. What a *tender* Conſcience is; 3. What *priviledges* or *exemptions* it may lay claim to.

1. What *Conſcience* is. And indeed the original of the miſtake in this matter ſeems to lye here; ſome have given ſuch pompous and Romantick deſcriptions of Conſcience, that they have beguiled men into an apprehenſion that it is far a Mightier Potentate than indeed it is. I have read of a vulgar perſon, who firſt having heard himſelf reſembled to the Prince for ſtature and complexion, and afterwards heightned up into the conceit by the flatteries of ſome and arts of others that had ends to ſerve by him, came at laſt to conceit himſelf to be the Prince indeed, and gave ſufficient trouble to the King in poſſeſſion. Men have ſpoken ſo magnificently of Conſcience, that divers have grown into belief, that it was ſome Ghoſt or Spirit, and little thought it was nothing but their own inconſiderable ſelves.

It is called a *Tutelar Genius, a Familiar, a Domeſtick Deity, a God within men,* and at leaſt Gods Vicegerent inthroned in our boſoms. Now under theſe diſguiſes men have been

been ready to fall down and worſhip themſelves, and like the Pagans, have given Divine honours to their own Paſſions; but the leaſt that could follow from ſuch premiſes, was that the Magiſtrate muſt ſtrike ſail to this admired Numen. Hence probably Quakeriſm took its riſe, the men of which way are generally a ſtubborn and incurable generation: Bring Scripture or Reaſon or any Authority againſt them, they ſlight all, and onely appeal to the light within them, that mighty Deity, that internal Chriſt, their Conſcience. Hence alſo it's probable, that miſchievous principle aroſe, That it is lawfull to *doe Evil that Good may come of it*, in ſpite of the Apoſtle: And it is believed that for a good cauſe and under a good intention (that is, the perſwaſion of our Conſcience, (eſpecially if Providence alſo ſmile upon our undertakings, and incourage us with hopes of ſucceſs,) that it is lawfull for any man of what quality ſoever to ſet up for a Reformer and turn the world upſide down. Nay, ſo far have ſome been bewildred by theſe cloudy and miſty deſcriptions, that whatſoever Humour hath been predominant in their Bodies, whatever Paſſion of their Mind, whatever Prejudice of Education, or Intereſt, or Profit, all this hath paſt for Conſcience, and under that name been uncontrollable. Rom. 3. 8.

But

But now if ſuch men would conſider, and loved plain *Engliſh*, and to underſtand what they ſay, Conſcience is neither God, nor Angel nor Spirit, nor any thing that will bear all that weight is thus laid upon it. But is plainly this and no more; namely, *It is a mans own mind or underſtanding under the diſtinct conſideration of reflecting upon himſelf, his own actions and duty.* When we take notice of things that do not concern us morally, then this notice is called underſtanding onely, or mind, or opinion, or ſcience, or ſome ſuch name; but when we conſider whether a thing be good or evil morally, lawfull or unlawfull, that is whether it be agreeable to ſuch a rule of action or ſuitable to the end of eternal happineſs, then we call this notice or reflection of our mind, Conſcience.

Now when we ſpeak thus plainly, a great part of the aforeſaid Legendary conceits vaniſh: for ſcarcely any man that ſays his Conſcience is incontrollable, will ſay his own opinion or Reaſon is the ultimate rule of his actions: but will confeſs he may as a man err and be miſtaken, and therefore hath need of a Guide, or ſome Law or light to direct him. Therefore it is plain, that men

men deceive themſelves with Metaphors, with words and phraſes.

Some men perhaps will ſay, That allowing *Conſcience to be nothing but the Mind of man as aforeſaid, yet even ſo it is ſubject to no humane Laws, foraſmuch as no man can force me to think otherwiſe than I do, nor compell me to be of his opinion in the inward ſenſe of my mind: My Mind therefore or Conſcience is onely obnoxious to God.*

But the anſwer to this is eaſie, That though it be true, that neither men can know my thoughts, nor put any conſtraint upon the free actings of my Mind; yet for all this, ſince my mind is not infallible, I may and muſt needs have ſomething to guide my mind in its judgement and determinations, and that is it which we call *Law*; and though this cannot force me to follow its direction, yet it morally obliges me, that is, it will be my ſin if I do not. In ſhort; The moſt that Mind or Conſcience can pretend to, is to be a Judge, yet is it but ſuch a Judge as is ſubject to the Laws, and they muſt guide it, as that guides the man, or otherwiſe its petty Sovereignty that it pretends to, will not ſecure it from the wrath of the great Sovereign of the world, by whom Kings reign.

But

But if it be further objected, *That we are notwithſtanding bound to obey the dictates of our Mind or Conſcience before any Law or command of any humane Authority whatſoever, if they happen to interfere.*

I anſwer, it is true in things notoriouſly and plainly evil, and the reaſon is, (not becauſe my mind or Conſcience ſuperſedes the Law of the Magiſtrate, but) becauſe ſome higher Law of God or Reaſon by which my Conſcience is guided, hath in that caſe made a nullity in the Law of the Magiſtrate; for if my Conſcience have not the direction and warranty of ſuch ſuperiour Law, the meer Opinion of my Mind or Conſcience will afford me no ſecurity; for where thoſe are ſilent, there the Law of the Magiſtrate is the immediate Rule of my Conſcience; and then to oppoſe or contradict that, is to affront the publick Tribunal with a private Conſiſtory, and to ſet up my own Opinion againſt God's Inſtitution.

If yet it be further urged, That if after all my conſideration of the reaſon of publick Laws, I cannot ſatisfie my ſelf of the lawfulneſs of the thing commanded, I muſt then govern my ſelf by my Conſcience, and not by the Law. I reply,

I reply, That if the unlawfulneſs of the thing commanded is not as plain and viſible, as the Command of God for obeying Authority is, my Opinion or Conſcience will be no excuſe to me, becauſe I forſake a certain Rule to follow an uncertain.

But if after all endeavours of ſatisfying my ſelf to obey the humane Law, yet the thing commanded by the Magiſtrate (however innocent it may be in it ſelf) ſeems to me as plainly unlawfull, as obedience is plainly a duty, I ſay this caſe is pityable, and will make ſome abatement of the ſin of diſobedience, but doth not totally excuſe it, much leſs make a nullity of the Law. It cannot make the Law null; for that depends upon its own Reaſonableneſs and the Authority enacting it, and not upon the Conceptions of men. Nor can it totally excuſe from ſin, *for ſin is the tranſgreſſion of the Law*, according to the definition of the Apoſtle. All therefore that can be allowed in the caſe is, That by reaſon of ſuch a mans unhappy circumſtances, his diſobedience will then be onely a ſin of infirmity, which is pityable amongſt men upon conſideration of common humanity, and is pardonnable with God as other errors are upon a general repentance.

2. Now

2. Now let us proceed to conſider what a *Tender* Conſcience is, and how that will alter the caſe.

And it is no more eaſie to find out what men mean by Tenderneſs, than what they meant by Conſcience. Doubtleſs when men ſpeak of a Tender Conſcience, they do not mean ſuch an one as *will endure no check or reſtraint*, that like an unbroken Horſe will admit of no reign of Government: nor yet a *nice* and *phantaſtical Conſcience*, that can brook nothing contrary to its own humour. Theſe at the firſt view are plainly vitious, and moſt of all need and deſerve the reſtraint of Laws, and to be inured to that they ſo ſtubbornly decline.

Nor yet on the other ſide, can Tenderneſs be taken in the ſame latitude with a Good Conſcience. Every good man hath ſuch a tenderneſs as to be afraid of ſin, and to decline the occaſions and temptations to it; and it would be too arrogant and preſumptuous for thoſe that plead the tenderneſs of their Conſciences, to ſuppoſe themſelves the onely men that make Conſcience of what they do; for then the contrary to a tender Conſcience muſt be a brawny and obdurate

or

or ſtupid Conſcience: which it would be too contumelious to reproach all other men but themſelves with.

It remains then, That that which is meant by Tenderneſs, is ſomething betwixt theſe two; namely, *neither a ſteady well inſtructed, nor yet a ſturdy and rebellious Conſcience, but a weak, unſetled and timorous one.* And now having before reſolved Conſcience in general to be nothing but the *Mind or practical Underſtanding, a Tender Conſcience will be nothing but either an ignorant or uninſtructed Mind, or a ſickly, melancholy and ſuperſtitious Underſtanding.* and then to ſpeak plainly, A man of a tender Conſcience is *ſuch a perſon, as being right and honeſt for the main, yet either through the weakneſs of his Intellectuals or prejudices of his Education, or through the melancholy of his Conſtitution, doth not rightly underſtand his duty, and conſequently is apt to doubt and ſcruple and fear where no fear is; and by this miſtake* (from the cauſes aforeſaid) *renders thoſe things evil to himſelf that are not ſo in themſelves.*

Now this being ſo, that a Tender Conſcience is this and no more, a man will juſtly wonder whence it ſhould come to paſs, that

either the pretence of ſuch a Conſcience ſhould be a matter of ambition as we ſee it is with ſome, and much more that it ſhould be thought fit to give Laws to the world as it ſeems to be the mind of others.

However we grant it pityable, but before we ſhew what priviledges it may claim, we will a little unfold more particularly the qualifications it muſt have to be able to ſue out it's priviledges. And in general I have ſaid already, That ſuch a perſon muſt be right and ſincerely honeſt for the main. Now of that he that pleads tender Conſcience, muſt give proof in theſe following Inſtances.

1. He that pleads for Compaſſion upon the account of his Weakneſs, muſt be ſo ingenuous as willingly to ſubmit himſelf to inſtruction, for he that ſcorns it, and thinks himſelf wiſer than all the world beſides, of all men hath the leaſt right to make this plea. I do not ſee how he that hath the confidence to be a Preacher to others, or a Diſputer for opinions, can pretend to the priviledges of that Tenderneſs we ſpeak of. For either a man owns himſelf an ignorant or a knowing man; if he be an ignorant man, he ought not to take upon him to teach others, but to learn; if he be a knowing

knowing man, he ought not to ſcruple, but to obey.

2. He that pretends Tenderneſs of Conſcience, muſt make good his claim by being uniformly conſcientious; that is, making as much Conſcience in other things, as in that he pleads exemption from. Otherwiſe it will be but Phariſaiſm, *to ſtrain at a Gnat and ſwallow a Camel.* Davids *heart ſmote him when he cut off the skirt of* Saul's *Garment*, but it would never have been called Tenderneſs of Conſcience in *David*, if at another time he ſhould have attempted the life of *Saul.* St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks of ſome that preſcribed to themſelves ſtricter limites of Matrimony than the Laws did, *per Mores non fiebat quod per Leges licebat, & factum horrebatur licitum, ob vicinitatem illiciti.* But then, they were ſeverely holy men in all their converſation, otherwiſe this would have deſerved no better eſteem than Superſtition in them or worſe. He that ſhall ſcruple a Ceremony, and neglects an Inſtitution of Chriſt, that dares not kneel at the Sacrament, but dares neglect the Communion, that ſcruples the obſervation of *Lent*, but ſcruples not Senſuality or Luſt, Drunkenneſs or Gluttony, that is afraid to *eat* blood, but not afraid to *ſhed* the blood of men, that will abſtain

from things ſtrangled, but not from fornication: Let ſuch a man pretend what he will, he neither hath nor can plead the priviledges of a Tender Conſcience.

3. He that is truly tender, if he cannot do all that he is comanded, will yet do all that he can. He will not make the breach wider, nor the diſtance greater than needs muſt, leſt he ſhould betray more of humour and ſtomach than Conſcience. He that cannot bow at the name of *Jeſus*, yet perhaps can ſtand up at the Creed; or if not that neither, yet probably he can be preſent at it. He that cannot kneel when he is required, may expreſs ſo much reverence as to ſtand; And he that is not ſatisfied in all the parts of the publick Prayers, may poſſibly be able to come to Church; or if none of theſe, yet at leaſt

4. He that cannot perform what the Laws require of him, may forbear judging and cenſuring thoſe that do. His Conſcience is a rule to himſelf, but doth not oblige him to paſs ſevere Cenſures upon all other men. It is a very proud Conſcience that will tranſcend its own Province, and preſcribe to all the world beſides. If he be weak and ignorant, it is very unſuitable that he ſhould carry himſelf

himſelf as the onely ſagacious man, and make his mind the publick ſtandard of truth and falſhood, of good and evil. For in ſo doing he contradicts himſelf, pleads ignorance and pretends knowledge, would be dealt with as the moſt weak, but deals by others as if he was the moſt ſtrong and skilful.

The man of a tender Conſcience finds it enough to rule and judge his own actions, but leaves other men *to their own maſters*. He is ſo modeſt upon the ſenſe of his own defects, and conſequently ſo charitable as to think other men may know a reaſon of that he is not ſatisfied in. But they that muſt erect a Judicature for all thoſe that differ from them, and arraign them of Superſtition or Popery, that are not of their own mind, ſhall ſooner convict themſelves of pride and pragmaticalneſs, than give proof of any true tenderneſs of Conſcience.

5. The truly tender Conſcience will freely part with Money, and whatever elſe uſes to be valuable of that kind to preſerve it's own Innocency and Peace, and is far from the humour of pretending Conſcience to advance his Gain, or excuſe his Purſe. If ſuch a man cannot conform to the Laws, yet he can pay the penalty; if he cannot go to Church, he

can pay his Tythes: otherwiſe it is his *Money* he is tender of, and not his *Conſcience*; his God is his Gain, and his Profit his Conſcience. He that comes up to theſe five points of honeſty, may be heard in his plea of Tenderneſs, and no man elſe. And now I will in the Third and laſt place ſhew what conſideration is to be had of ſuch a caſe, and that in theſe three particulars.

1. Every private Chriſtian is bound in charity and compaſſion towards ſuch a man, to deny himſelf of ſome part of his liberty, to pleaſe and to gain him. That is, in thoſe things that are the matter of no Law, but left free and undeterminate, there the rule of the Apoſtle takes place, Rom. 15. 1, 2. *We that are ſtrong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to pleaſe our ſelves. And let every one of us pleaſe his neighbour for his good to edification.* I ſay, in ſuch things as are not the matter of any Law, for I may not do evil that good may come of it; I muſt not break either the Laws of God or man out of an humour of complaiſance to my Brother, for this were as we ſay, to rob *Peter* to pay *Paul*, or to commit Theft or Sacriledge, that I may give Alms. But in ſuch things, as both the Laws of God and man have left me at liberty,

berty, and at my own diſpoſe, I may then juſtly and ought in charity to conſider his weakneſs, rather than uſe my own ſtrength; and ought not to walk over Rocks and Precipices, where I know the infirmitie of others is ſuch that they cannot follow me. For though my own ſtrength would bear me up, yet it were very charitable to deſcend from that height which I know others cannot climb up to without giddineſs.

To do all that I may do without danger to my ſelf, and not at all to regard what others can comply with, or to uſe my own liberty to the offence of others, is to be unchriſtian and uncharitable. It is to ſurfeit of my own abundance when my Brother is in want. And in this ſenſe onely are we to underſtand all theſe diſcourſes of the Apoſtle about Scandal and Offence. In thoſe times the Magiſtrate being Pagan, took no care of the Church, nor had paſſed any Laws concerning the manage of the Chriſtian Religion; therefore whatſoever God had left free and undetermined, was ſo ſtill: ſo that the Chriſtians had a great deal of ſcope and room for mutual condeſcenſion, and accordingly the Apoſtle exhorts them, that in all that *materia libera*, *they ſhould by love ſerve one another*. And with great

equity; for he that will provoke his Brother to ſin, by doing that which he himſelf can omit without ſin, is guilty of ſin in ſo doing. But the caſe is quite otherwiſe when there is a Law in being; for if my Brother will be offended, unleſs I break a Law to comply with him, in that caſe Charity begins at home, (as we ſay,) I muſt look to my ſelf firſt, and if he take offence, he doth take it where it is not given, for I do but my duty. And as I may and muſt give Alms of what is my own, and what I can ſpare from my own occaſions, but am neither bound to deprive my ſelf of neceſſaries, that I may ſerve any mans needs, nor much leſs to rob another of his right, that I may furniſh him that wants; ſo the ſame Charity requires that in all thoſe caſes where no Law of God or of man hath reſtrained my liberty, I there conſider the infirmity of another, rather than the pleaſing of my ſelf. And that this is it which St. *Paul* meant in all thoſe paſſages, appears by conſideration of the inſtance he gives in himſelf, and wherewith he concludes the argument, 1 Cor. 8. 13. *Wherefore if meat make my Brother to offend, I will eat no fleſh while the world ſtands.* The eating of fleſh was under no Law, and conſequently he ſhould not offend if he forbore it, therefore he reſolves that he

he would abridge himſelf of his own liberty, rather than offend another.

2. It becomes the wiſdom and compaſſion of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate ſo far to conſider the ſatisfaction of peoples Minds as well as the peace and ſafety of his Dominions, as not to make thoſe things the matter of his Laws which he foreſees mens weakneſs will make them boggle at: unleſs there be weighty reaſons on the other hand to counterbalance that conſideration. Such as, that the things which ſome ſcruple, are nevertheleſs neceſſary to Government, or grateful to the greater or more conſiderable part of his Subjects. If without theſe conſiderations he ſhall however conſtitute ſuch Laws, I will not ſay ſuch Laws are therefore null, (for the weakneſs of people doth not take away his power) but I will ſay they are unkind and ungracious. But thoſe conſiderations being ſuppoſed, that is, if ſuch Conſtitutions as are apt to be ſcrupled by ſome, be yet either neceſſary to Government, or very grateful to the more conſiderable part of his Subjects, he hath then no obligation upon him to conſider the offence of a few, but the good and ſafety of the whole. Yet when thoſe intereſts are ſecured, there is great ſcope for his compaſſion, and conſequently

quently it is the duty of a good Magiſtrate (as of a good Shepherd) to drive as the Cattle can go.

3. If it ſhall be found neceſſary upon the conſiderations before intimated, or any the like, to make ſuch things matter of Law that were before indifferent in themſelves, and which being ſo made, are likely to be ſcrupled by thoſe that ought to obey; It becomes a Chriſtian Magiſtrate who conſiders he governs Men and not Beaſts, to afford means of inſtruction to ſuch weak and ſcrupulous perſons, and competent time for thoſe inſtructions to take place, and in the mean time to ſuſpend rigorous executions. For it is not in mens power to believe what they liſt, much leſs what others would have them: and it hath always been found that force without inſtruction hath been prevalent onely upon the worſt of men, and ſet the more conſcientious farther off by prejudice. But after ſuch inſtruction afforded and time allowed, if then ſuch perſons be not rightly informed and ſatisfied, yet the Magiſtrate is unblameable, for he commands but what is reaſonable in it ſelf, and he hath done what lay in him, that mens Judgements might be convinced, and Conſcience quieted.

It

It is very obſervable that in the Council held by the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, Acts 15. (of which I have ſometimes made mention) whileſt there was hopes of gaining the *Jews* to Chriſtianity, and until they had time to be ſufficiently inſtructed in it if they would, for ſo long time the Apoſtles uſed them with great tenderneſs, and (as it appears) made that Decree in complyance with them, whereby they abridged the *Gentiles* of the exerciſe of a conſiderable part of their Chriſtian Liberty in meer condeſcenſion to the *Jews*: but after ſuch time as the *Jews* might have been ſufficiently inſtructed, but remained incurable and obſtinate, then this Indulgence grew into *deſuetude*, and the *Gentiles* reſumed their due liberty. From the ſame conſideration was it that St. *Paul* (as I alſo obſerved before) practiſed Circumciſion in the caſe of *Timothy*, which he otherwiſe declared uſeleſs and dangerous. And again upon the ſame grounds did the Apoſtolical Canons enjoyn the obſervation of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath as well as the *Lords day*, and ſeveral other things were both acted by private Chriſtians, and decreed by the Authority of Councils in favour of the *Jews*, till they appeared no longer pitiably weak and ignorant, but contumacious and intractable

tractable. And as the Elder Christians did by the *Jews*, so seems the Great *Constantine* to have done by the Pagans; He considered that those that had been all their lifetime kept in the darkness of *Gentilism*, could not presently bear so great a light as Christianity. Therefore though he zealously recommended it, yet he did not presently make it penal not to be a Christian, but for a time gave every one leave to be of what Religion he would, to choose his own God and his own way of Worship. In the mean time care was taken, that all should have opportunity of understanding the truth if they would, which when they had enjoyed for a competent time, he then requires all the *Roman* Empire to imbrace Christianity. This last instance I confess fits not the very matter we have in hand, which is touching things in their own nature indifferent: But it agrees with the general reason of proceeding, which is sufficient to my purpose.

But now after all this, if the people will not be instructed, but shall be so ridiculous as to pride themselves in their folly, and glory to continue weak, when they may be strong, that is, will affect Ignorance, to countenance Disobedience, I see no obligation upon the Magistrate either to forbear to make or execute

cute ſuch Laws as he apprehends for the good of his Government, as I ſaid before.

And ſo I hope I have cleared this point, That though a Tender Conſcience hath it's Priviledges, yet it hath not ſuch a Prerogative as to null the Laws, or ſuſpend the Power of the Magiſtrate in the Sphere of Religion. And therefore this pretence will be no longer an excuſe for mens Non-conformity to the Laws and Church of *England*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The great diſhonour that diſobedience to Laws and Magiſtrates, and the diſtractions of Government do to any Profeſſion of Religion whatſoever.

HAving as I think, ſufficiently demonſtrated the ſin and miſchiefs of Schiſm, and evacuated all the excuſes and palliations of it from the plea of Chriſtian Liberty or the pretence of Tender Conſcience, I cannot ſee what ſhould remain able to prepetuate our diſtractions, unleſs it be a point of honour, that ſome think themſelves obliged to perſevere, becauſe they have begun: A humour like that *Tully* notes and taxes in the Stoicks, That when Arguments failed them, Conſtantly ſupplied that defect, and that they were not deſerted of their Courage, when they were deſtitute of Reaſon. It is, I confeſs, too common with men, to the intent that they may not ſeem to have had a bad and indefenſible Cauſe at firſt, they will indeavour

indeavour to give it reputation by the courage and conſtancy of the Defendants, whereby they hope to gain one of theſe points, that either by Victory they ſhall have it adjudged to them, or at leaſt extort Honourable conditions to lay down Arms, which is a kind of parting ſtakes. Hereupon it is far more eaſie to convince men, than to ſatisfie them, becauſe at laſt it comes to be a coutention of Honour and Spirit, and not a debate of Truth.

They ſay, nothing ſubdues *Engliſh* Spirits but Ceſſion and Condeſcenſion; yield them a little, and they will in Bravery and Generoſity, give you up all the reſt: but if you continue to contend, they will fight, not becauſe it's either hopeful or neceſſary, neither becauſe they can reaſonably hope to obtain the victory, nor becauſe they muſt be ruined if they do not; but becauſe they cannot brook the diſhonour of being vanquiſht. Honour is a kind of *Gentile* Conſcience, and *teuder* like that too. And I confeſs, though it be a very vertuous, yet it is no very eaſie thing, to come about perfectly, to change ones courſe, and to proclaim ones ſelf to have been in the wrong before, to forgo a mans opinion and his reputation together, wholly to yield up the cauſe we have long con-

contended for, without any conditions to ſalve our honour, without any abatement, qualification or comprehenſion. For though wiſe men will cenſure our obſtinacy if we perſiſt, yet the multitude will reproach us with levity and cowardize if we retreat. And though many a man could contentedly give up himſelf to the inſtruction of the few, yet to be expoſed to the contumelies of the vulgar is harſh and uneaſie. This conſideration hath, I acknowledge, a great deal of *Rhetorick*, and I doubt prevailes with not a few in our preſent caſe. I will therefore endeavour to ſhew the *unreaſonableneſs* of it in theſe two points.

1. I affirm, that it is no real diſhonour but a manly generoſity and a Chriſtian virtue to change our minds upon mature deliberation, and the evidence of better reaſon. Indeed to change we know not why, or meerly becauſe we are weary of old things, is a vitious levity; or upon new intereſts to eſpouſe new perſwaſions; is baſe and unworthy either of a Chriſtian or a man: yet on the other ſide, obſtinately to maintain whatever we have aſſerted, is as far from Chriſtian ſtability and perſeverance, as it is from ingenuity. That very temper which our Saviour requires in his Diſciples, and which is

is the preparatory diſpoſition to the entertainment of Chriſtianity, eſpecially conſiſts in a ſimplicity of mind; and an indifferency to comply with whatſoever ſhall beſt recommend it ſelf to our faculties. And whoſoever is not of this diſpoſition, it was meerly by chance that he became a Chriſtian; or whatſoever opinions he hath better than any other man, nothing is owing to his vertue, but his fortune; and he is not the better man, but had the happier Education. For ſince no man is infallible, nor hath an intuitive knowledge of things, he muſt make himſelf a meer Machine to be filled and moved by others, and receive without diſcrimination whatſoever is inſtilled into him by others, that doth not think it becomes him to leave room for better reaſons, and further light in all ſuch matters as we ſpeak of, and where almighty God hath not once for all expreſly delivered himſelf. And thoſe are not onely the moſt ingenious men, but ordinarily the moſt uſefull alſo, that are what they are, not by inſtinct and the prejudices of Education, but by Conviction and Argument; The former is what he is, but he knows not why: and ſuch a perſon though perhaps he will tenaciouſly hold the concluſion, yet cannot make good the premiſes; and ſo though he will not be driven out of his way, yet may be cheated, and in a blind zeal

run round to the other extream. Whereas the latter hath not onely the ſtable principle of Reaſon to aſſure his own ſtanding, but is able to recommend his perſwaſion to others, and convince gainſayers by the ſame arguments that prevailed upon himſelf. In ſhort, he that reſolves never to change his opinion, nor hopes to be wiſer than he is, either will be alwayes a fool, or hath the fortune of ſuch an one, or both.

Now then, he that ſeeing reaſon to incline him to take new meaſures, ſhall yet upon Secular conſiderations think fit not to own a change, may have the reputation of a *cunning* man, but never of an *honeſt*, and ſhall loſe more in the Judgment of wiſe men, than he ſhall gain with the vulgar.

2. Eſpecially let it be conſidered how much the honour of our Religion is of more value than our Perſonal reputation, and how much that is concerned in the peaceable and obedient temper of all thoſe that pretend to it; and withall, what it ſuffers in defect of this: And ſurely a due ſenſe of theſe things will have ſuch weight with all thoſe that are ſincerely Chriſtian, as to depreſs and keep down the turgency of our phancy and vain glory.

It

It was an effectuall courſe *Haman* took, *Eſther* 3. 8. (and he had wit in his malice,) when he deſigning to ruine the whole Church of the *Jews*, firſt undermines the reputation of their Profeſſion, delates their Religion as not fit for the protection of the Prince, and that it contained *Laws contrary to all people, and that they would not obey the Kings Laws.* There is nothing caſts ſo indeleble a blemiſh upon Religion as when the Profeſſors of it are turbulent, unperſwadable, ungovernable. When that which ſhould ſtrengthen the hands of the Magiſtrate, ſhall weaken them: when that which ſhould eaſe his care and ſave the labour of his Animadverſions, ſhall it ſelf awaken and raiſe his Jealouſie; when that which ſhould enact his Laws in the very Conſciences of men, ſhall pretend to abrogate or diſpence with them; when men ſhall ſmite and break the two Tables one againſt another and put other limitations and conditions upon Princes than God hath; and pretend a revocation of the Broad Seal of Civil Authority by the Privy Signet of Religion: wherever this is done, that Prince or Magiſtrate had need be a very devout man indeed, that caſts a benign aſpect upon that Profeſſion which hath ſo malignant an influence upon his Government. And all conſidering men will with

great reaſon doubt, whether that Religion be of God that gives ſuch trouble to his Vicegerent, and whether that will carry men to Heaven hereafter, that make tumults, confuſions and a Hell upon earth.

But I have ſaid ſo much to this buſineſs heretofore, when I conſidered the miſchiefs of Schiſm, that I ſhall need to ſay the leſs now. Onely let me obſerve, That the more raiſed and elevated any Religion pretends to be, the more it profeſſes a contempt of this world, the more it ſpeaks of Patience, Contentation, Humility, and the more it glories in the hopes of another world, ſtill the more horribly abſurd and contradictious will it be, that this ſhould give countenance to diſobedience and diſturbance to Government.

I have alſo noted before, that it was the great advantage Chriſtianity had for the planting it ſelf in the world, that it diſturbed no ſetled Form, made no noiſe or commotion, but fell like the dew of Heaven upon a Fleece of Wool. Our Saviour himſelf was ſo carefull of giving offence, that he not onely gave no jealouſie to thoſe in poſſeſſion of the Government, but alſo abridged his own Liberty, rather than he would ſeem to retrench their Power. Saint *Paul* when he was accuſed

accuſed by an eloquent Orator *Tertullus*, Acts 24. 5. *as a mover of Sedition*, doth with equal eloquence diſprove the charge, and deteſt the Crime. And that the generality of Chriſtians were of the ſame temper and ſpirit, *Tertullian* gives ample teſtimony. *Externi ſumus, & veſtra omnia implevimus, urbes, inſulas, caſtella, municipia, caſtra ipſa, tribus, decurias, palatium, ſenatum, forum*, &c. *cui bello non idonei*, &c. Apol. c. 37. *We want*, ſaith he, *neither numbers, nor Leaders, nor Spirit, to inable us for any attempt; but that we have learnt to* ſuffer *ill, and not to* doe *it, to obey and ſubmit, not to contend with our Rulers.* And *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a Pagan Souldier in *Julian*'s Army, and therefore the more undeniable witneſs in the caſe, gives this ſhort deſcription of the Chriſtian Religion, *Nil niſi juſtum ſuadet & lene: It is*, ſaith he, *compounded of nothing but mildneſs and innocency.* It makes men juſt and honeſt, it fils mens hearts with virtuous principles, but not their heads with troubleſome niceties; It teaches men not to be troublers of the World, but to go quietly and inoffenſively through it, with as little noiſe and provocation as is poſſible, and ſo to arrive at eternal reſt and peace in Heaven. And as this is the known glory of Chriſtianity in general, ſo it was peculiarly

of the *Engliſh* Reformation in particular, as I ſhewed before. It was brought in by the Prince, not by the rout of people; it was eſtabliſht orderly by Law, did not force its way by popular tumult, and was truly what it ought to be, a revival of Primitive purity and ſimplicity. And it is infinite pitty, that its glory ſhould afterwards be ſtained by the inſolence and impatience of thoſe that pretend to it. It is a great blot in the writings of Mr. *Calvin*, that after he had diſcourſed rarely well of the power of Princes and the duty of Subjects, in the laſt Chapter of his *Inſtitutions* and the one thirtieth Paragraph, he undoes all again with an unhappy exception, in theſe words, *de privatis hominibus ſemper loquor:* A paſſage of that ill aſpect upon Government, that it is ſuſpected by ſome, and not altogether without cauſe, that moſt of the confuſions of Kingdoms which have happened ſince, and eſpecially the troubles of this Nation, have received incouragement, if not taken riſe from thence. But whether that be ſo or no, it is certain that it hath furniſht the Papiſts with a recrimination upon the Proteſtant Doctrine, when we have charged theirs as blowing a Trumpet to Sedition and Rebellion. And though the true Proteſtant Doctrine be as innocent, as theirs

is

is guilty in this kind, yet if it can be objected againſt us, that our Churches are alwayes infeſted with Diviſions, and the States under which we live embroyled in troubles, we have reaſon to be concerned, foraſmuch as we have no reaſon to expect that our Adverſaries will be ſo juſt or charitable, as to diſtinguiſh betwixt the faults of the Doctrine and the miſcarriages of thoſe that Profeſs it, but will be ſure to involve both in the diſhonour. For it cannot be, but that either the ſeed muſt be very bad, that brings forth ſuch Fruit, or the Soil very corrupt, that makes good Seed ſo degenerate; that is, either the Religion muſt be very faulty, that fills men generally with ſo bad Principles, or at leaſt, the Men muſt be extreamly evil, that debauch good Doctrine. And whether ſoever of theſe two things be concluded on, (as it is certain one muſt and both may) we ill conſult either for our ſelves or our Profeſſion, that by our diviſions, diſputes, turbulencies and diſobedience, make the aforeſaid dilemma inevitable. And all the wit and courage we ſhew in defending our private opinions, and maintaining our ſeveral parties, when the common cauſe and intereſt is by this means rendred odious and contemptible, is but like the fooliſh ſolicitude of him that ſhall be adorning

his private Cabin, when the Ship is ſinking. And thoſe men have little cauſe to triumph in their particular ſucceſſes, who loſe to a common Enemy whatever they gain upon one another.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The danger by our Diſtractions and Diviſions.

IF neither the Coſideration of the ſin of Schiſm, nor of the diſhonour to our Religion by our diviſions will prevail to unite us, yet perhaps the apprehenſion of Danger may; this therefore I have reſerved for the laſt place.

It was obſerved of old, that the Conqueſt of this Iſland by the *Romans* was facilitated by the Inteſtine diviſions of the Inhabitants, and ſaid, *dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur*; whereas had they conſulted in common, and made a joynt defence, they had doubtleſs either preſerved their liberty or at leaſt ſold it at a dearer rate. And we have too great cauſe to fear the Religious intereſts of this Nation now, may be endangered upon the ſame point that the Civil were loſt then; I mean, that whileſt we contend with one another, and with our Rulers about

about little things, we loſe the main, and by the opportunity of our Diviſions and Subdiviſions, a common enemy break in upon us.

It is certain, that no advantage can more encourage the attempt or befriend the deſigns of our Adverſaries, than the preſent condition of our affairs, and therefore unleſs we could be ſo fond as to perſwade our ſelves we have no enemies, or ſo mad as to think them as ſecure and ſupine as our ſelves, it muſt be unreaſonable preſumption to think our ſelves ſafe in this diſtracted condition. But becauſe it is obſerved of *Engliſhmen*, that they generally (as conſcious to themſelves of their own undaunted courage in encountring dangers) are leſs vigilant againſt the approaches of them, I ſhall therefore for a concluſion, rather hazard the being accounted timerous my ſelf, than that others ſhould be ſecure and ſo ſurprized, and endeavour to unite the minds of all true Proteſtants of this Kingdom, by repreſenting the joynt danger by a threefold enemy ready to attacque them, *viz.* Atheiſm, Popery, Fanaticiſm.

1. *Atheiſm.* He that hath not obſerved the prodigious growth and progreſs of this Monſter in this laſt Age, and what confidence it

is

is arrived at above the proportion of former times, either hath lived to little purpoſe, having made no obſervation of what hath paſt by him, or is intollerably over-weening to ſome private opinion.

Heretofore it was onely the *fool* that *ſaid there was no God*; but now this name *Atheiſt*, ſpeaks a Wit and man of more than ordinary ſagacity: And thoſe that were either ſo fooliſh or ſo abandoned of all reaſon and goodneſs as to doubt whether there was a God or no, yet were not ſo immodeſt as to profeſs their Infidelity, as the Pſalmiſt expreſſes it, *they ſaid in their heart, there was no God*, but made it not an Hypotheſis or a profeſt Tenet. Time was that onely ſome hated villain, ſome man of abject ſpirit and deſperate fortunes was thought capable of ſuch black impreſſions, and that nothing but the brawnineſs of mens conſciences or the hopeleſneſs of their condition could betray them to but the ſuſpicions of ſuch a thing; and thoſe that had any taint of it, fled the light, and were onely to be found in Gaols and Brothel-houſes: Now the Atheiſt is become a Gallant, an Hector, and this *uncircumciſed Philiſtin* appears armed, *and defies the Armies of Iſrael.* The general contempt that ſuch men lay under was ſuch, that heretofore they were not thought fit to live

live in a Common-wealth, but now they have gotten ſuch heart as to think themſelves the onely fit perſons to preſcribe Laws and Models of Government.

It is not eaſie to unfold all the cauſes that have concurred to the unhappy growth of this extream evil; nor is it neceſſary that I ſhould now undertake it, yet I preſume I ſhall eaſily obtain the Readers pardon if I gratifie my own and his curioſity ſo far as to make a little digreſſion to obſerve the motion of ſo unuſual and prodigious a Phænomenon.

Vid. *Plutarch.* περὶ Δεισιδ.

And in the firſt place it is an Obſervation of the Lord *Bacon*'s, *That Superſtition in the foregoing Age, uſually becomes Atheiſm in the ſucceeding generation.* And ſo it is likely the ſeeds were ſown in the late times, though the unhappy fruit appears but now. For when witty men ſhall obſerve that the generality of thoſe that pretend to the higheſt pitch of Religion, do either repreſent God Almighty ſo incredibly and contrary to the natural notions men have of him, or Religion ſo apiſhly and ridiculouſly (as is the Genius of Superſtition to do) It will be very ready and eaſie to them to conclude, there is no reality either in the one or the other: Eſpecially if thoſe happen to make the obſervation,

tion, whoſe vicious and deſperate courſes have made it become their intereſt that there ſhould be no ſuch things. When men ſhall ſee the moſt abſurd Propoſitions, and ſuch as they are ſure cannot be true, received with the ſame credulity and recommended and contended for with the ſame zeal that the moſt certain and moſt eſſential points of Religion are or ſhould be, what can be more natural, than to think thoſe things alike true, that are alike imbraced and have equal ſtreſs laid upon them? And then the Reſult is plain, that ſeeing ſome are notoriouſly falſe, therefore it ſeems more than probable to them that the reſt are ſo too. It is in this caſe as in the hearing of Civil Cauſes, when it appears to the Judges that there is falſe play made uſe of and ſome ſuborned Witneſſes brought to give evidence, they are hereby prejudiced againſt the reſt.

And (which is further conſiderable) it is very probable that thoſe very men that were formerly ſunk into the mire of the aforeſaid Superſtitions, may afterwards when they happen to emerge out of their deluſions, make up a conſiderable part of the Atheiſts themſelves. For by the ſame reaſon we gave before, theſe men finding themſelves cheated and impoſed upon even in theſe very points that they

they were as confident of, as of the Articles of the Creed, they grow hence to ſuſpect even *them* too, foraſmuch as with ſuch perſons thoſe fundamental points have no better foundation than the things that now are apparently falſe: And thus from too large and prodigious a Creed they come to have no Faith at all. When they diſcover that they believed many things without ground, they think now they have ground to believe nothing, and from fierce and hot Bigots, become cold Scepticks and Atheiſts.

In the ſecond place I ſuſpect the lewd practices that have gone under the cloak and countenance of Religion, have had a great hand in this miſchief alſo. That not onely the prodigious Faith, but the monſtrous Life of ſome great pretenders to Religion hath made men ſcorn and abhorr the very notion of it. When not onely mens ridiculous Follies, but alſo their Vices, their Pride, and Paſſion and Rancour, ſhall be father'd upon the Spirit of God (as we know when and where ſuch things have been done) when men ſhall ſeek God for all the Villanies they are reſolved to commit, when they make long Prayers to devour Widows houſes, and proclaim a Faſt that they may kill and take poſſeſſion; when Religion ſhall be proſtituted to-

all

all bad deſigns, and *in nomine Domini incipit omne malum:* when, I ſay, the moſt ſpecious Profeſſion is a cloke for the vileſt Knavery; It cannot be much wondred if ſuch men as I deſcribed before, be inclined by theſe things to think there is no reality in any of the diſcourſes of God, and Religion. For as, if a man were to obſerve whether the Sun was riſen upon the Hemiſphere, he would direct his eyes to the tops of Mountains, expecting to ſee him diſplaying his beams firſt upon them that are neareſt Heaven: So a man would think if there were any ſuch thing as Religion and a ſenſe of Divinity amongſt men, it ſhould be found amongſt thoſe that have alwayes God in their mouths, and ſuch a Garb of Religion upon them. But if he find himſelf diſappointed here, and that theſe men that pretend ſo high, have as great Senſualities, Paſſions, Covetouſneſs, Malice as other Men, he will deſpair of finding it any where, and conclude with *Brutus, O virtus, quæſivi te ut rem, ſed tantùm merum nomen es,* that there is no ſuch thing at all.

3. To the aforeſaid Cauſes, we may well add the perpetual Janglings and Diſputes between Profeſſors of Religion, as not onely making Religion unlovely, but even calling

calling it wholly into queſtion. When ſo many ſhall tell us there is ſuch a place and ſtate as Heaven and a World to come, but every one tells us a ſeveral way thither; witty men who know that all cannot be true, but all may be falſe, think it not comporting with their diſcretion to take the pains of the journey, till the Guides ſhall be agreed of the way. The diſagreement of the two rank elders in their teſtimony againſt *Suſannah*'s chaſtity, whilſt one ſaid the fault was done under one kind of Tree and the other under another, diſcovered her Innocency and their Hypocriſie.

It is true indeed, there may and muſt be diverſities of apprehenſions in ſeveral points of Chriſtianity, whileſt men are of different capacities, and this need not, (nor if things be modeſtly carried, will) give any juſt advantage to the Atheiſt. But when every private opinion is made neceſſary to ſalvation, and men pronounce damnation againſt one another upon every little diverſity, when they make as many Religions as there are Opinions, and as many Wayes to Heaven, as there are Notions amongſt men, it cannot be hoped, but that the cold Sceptick ſhould be incouraged in his Neutrality.

4. But

4. But if to all theſe we conſider with what rancour and malice the ſeveral Parties proſecute one another, what odious and defamatory Libels, and bitter Invectives they write one againſt another, wherein all the ſecret follies of each party are blazed and publiſhed, all the errors aggravated, all the Opinions racked to conſeſs blaſphemy in their owners and defenders; one party ſaid to make God a Tyrant, the other to deny his Wiſdom, or Soveraignty; the one ſide accuſed of Idolatry, the other of Rebellion: he, I ſay, that conſiders how uſual all this is, and how ready all thoſe that have no good mind to Religion are to catch up the darts that each of the parties caſt at each other, and make uſe of them againſt both, and with what ſeeming Reaſon they conclude, that the Confeſſion of the Parties againſt each other, and their mutual Impeachments of each other ſhould argue the guilt of both, and obſerves that all the defamatory Sermons and Libels that men write in heat and paſſion againſt each other, (wherein they charge folly, blaſphemy and nonſenſe upon each other reciprocally) at laſt rebound or are retorted upon the whole of Religion, cannot be altogether to ſeek of the riſe of the Atheiſm of this Age. But whether theſe be the principal cauſes of

the great appearance which Atheiſm makes in this Age above the proportion of other times, or whether there be other of a more latent and malignant influence, I ſhall not further enquire at preſent, ſince it is manifeſt, that the matter of Fact is true, and that being ſo, the danger to Religion cannot be obſcure. We have reaſon therefore better to govern our paſſions and lay aſide our animoſities for the future, and to unite our forces in an uniform order of Religion againſt this common enemy, leſt the gravity and piety of this Nation end in Boffoonry, and our beſt heat and ſpirits being ſpent upon one another, or againſt our Governours, the mortal ſymptom of a cold clammy ſtupid Atheiſm ſucceed. But if not that, then

2. *Popery*, is another *Hannibal ad portas*, an enemy that watches but till our Diviſions ſhall open the Gates to him. I hope I need not exaggerate the formidableneſs of Popery to thoſe that remember either eighteen thouſand ſouls diſpatcht out of the World by the hands of the common Hangman in about three years time in the *Low Countreys*, under the Government of the Duke of *Alva*, or the *French* Maſſacre, or Queen *Maries* Reign in *England*, or the *Gunpowder Treaſon*. There was a clauſe in our Litany

Litany in *Henry* the Eighths and *Edward* the ſixths time, *From the Tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and his deteſtable enormities, Good Lord deliver us*; and upon what reaſons ſoever it was ſince left out, it was not certainly, becauſe either their Errors are leſs enormous, or their Spirits leſs cruel; but God forbid, that becauſe they at preſent hide their Teeth, we ſhould think they cannot or will not bite, for if we ſhould be ſo good natured as to warm this Snake in our boſomes that now pretends to have neither power nor will to hurt us, I doubt we ſhould quickly find it to reſume it's malice and poiſon together with it's warmth and ſtrength.

If any one ſhall be ſo hardy as to apprehend there is no danger of its return in this Nation, I pray God his foreſight be as great as his courage; but he that conſiders the following Circumſtances will think it adviſeable not to be over ſecure. For,

1. It is not with this party as with any other Sect whatſoever, theſe have a Forreign Head and great intereſts abroad, the Pope and all the Popiſh Princes to unite, to direct, to animate and imploy them, which muſt needs render them very dange-

rous to any State that is inclined to middle counſels, that is, that doth not either effectually pleaſe them, or effectually diſable them. And upon this account the *Turkiſh* Sultan (who hath ſcarcely any need to learn reaſon of State from any body) uſes the *Latin* Chriſtians with greater caution and ſeverity under his Dominion than the *Greek*, becauſe he accounts the former alwayes dangerous upon the account of their Forreign Head and Alliance.

2. We cannot but obſerve how diligent they have been of late, how full of projects, and how erect their minds with expectation of ſome ſucceſs. They heretofore walked in Maſquerade, diſguiſed themſelves ſometimes in the habit of one Sect and ſometimes of another; but of late they have had the confidence to lay off their diſguiſe and play a more open game: And ſuch are the numbers of their Emiſſaries, ſo deſperate and daring are the Bigots of that party, and ſo cloſe and crafty are their Inſinuations, that we have little reaſon to think our ſelves out of danger, eſpecially whileſt we have ſuch Diviſions and Diſtractions amongſt our ſelves as at once both incourage them to attempt upon us, and alſo furniſh them with a very popular argument to uſe with ſoft-

mind

minded and weakly principled Proteſtants to draw them off from us, namely, the conſideration of the Diviſions in our Church, and the perfect Unity in theirs.

For prevention of all which, there ſeems no way ſo effectual as that we learn, if not to ſubmit our private quarrels to the publick Magiſtrate yet to publick ſafety, leſt whileſt the Gameſters quarrel, thoſe that ſit by ſweep the ſtakes. And certainly it's more adviſable to ſacrifice our Opinions to our Safety, than our Religion and Liberty to our Humours and Opinions. And although bleſſed be God, we have now a Prince to whom the Proteſtant Religion came ſealed with his Fathers Blood, and who in his own unhappy Exile had however this advantage to be well aware of the cheats and impoſtures, as well as the deſigns of that Faction: yet if ever it ſhould be our fortune to have a Prince indifferent in Religion, and who preferred his own quiet before the Civil or Spiritual Intereſts of his people; the unreaſonable petulancies we betray, our untractableneſs by fair means, and our endleſs diſputes and unneceſſary ſcrupuloſities would tempt ſuch a Prince (growing weary of the burden of our unquietneſs,

and deſpairing otherwiſe of bringing us to obedience) to put us under the inſolence of that hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, whoſe little Finger would prove heavier then the Loyns of all our preſent Governours, and ſet *Ægyptian* Task-maſters over us to break our Spirits by bitter bondage; which Gods Mercy and our Wiſdom for the future will I hope prevent.

But if we ſhould eſcape both theſe dangers, yet our Diviſions and Diſtractions continuing, there is a third danger that I do not ſee how it is avoidable. And that is,

3. *Fanaticiſm.* For it is not imaginable, but that the Church growing into contempt, and Laws into daily neglect, that things can long ſtand at this paſs, but ſome change or other muſt enſue; and if Popery come not in to chaſtiſe our follies, nor Atheiſm (that damp of the bottomleſs Pit) come over us and ſtifle all our life and warmth of Religion, but that we muſt (the aforeſaid cauſes remaining and daily increaſing) fall into a Religious Phrenſie, or that raging Calenture I laſt named. What that is, and what the inſufferable miſchiefs of it are, I need not repreſent. It is, in ſhort, inſtead of Church

Church Government to have a Spiritual Anarchy, where the hotteſt head is made the higheſt Governour; where Pride and Impudence are the onely qualifications of a Preacher; where humour is called Conſcience, and Novelty Religion. This for ought I can ſee, is like to be our condition, if neither the Atheiſt or Papiſt ſucceed in their projects. But if any man ſhall be ſo fond as to hope we ſhall not fall thus low, but may ſtay in Presbytery, (though I have many things to ſay in the caſe, yet) I ſhall ſay but this, Let ſuch a perſon conſider how few and inconſiderable that party is, compared with the vaſt numbers of Quakers, Ranters, Fifth-Monarchy-men, Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, &c. and how little acceptable the Presbyterian way or intereſt is to any of thoſe Factions, and therefore how unlikely to be ſet up by their means: But eſpecially let it be remembred that when the Party had the Ball at their foot, they were not able to keep it, but loſt it and the Goal too, to thoſe more numerous and adventurous Gameſters. I therefore ſay again, I cannot apprehend but that there muſt be a better union and complyance with the Church of *England*, or I do not ſee it poſſible, but we muſt fall into one or other of the aforeſaid dangers.

And the calamity will then be ſo great which way ſoever we fall, that I proteſt I think every honeſt minded Proteſtant ought to be inclined to bear with cheerfulneſs whatſoever burdens our Superiours can be ſuſpected capable of impoſing upon us, rather than make experiment of the danger.

CON-

CONCLUSION.

I Have now adventured to ſtretch forth my hand to ſtay the tottering of the Ark, and to caſt in my Mite to the publick Treaſury for the ſervice of the Church, which I hope God and Good men will accept of.

Of what efficacy the foregoing Conſiderations ſhall be, is at the mercy of the Reader. But if it pleaſe Almighty God to give him ſuch candour and ſo unprejudicate a mind in the reading as (I call him to witneſs) I have been ſenſible of in the writing, I do not then deſpair but they will prevail with all *Engliſhmen* that love the Proteſtant Religion better than their own humour, to Conform to the Church and Laws eſtabliſht; or at leaſt that they ſhall ſeem of ſuch weight, as that a few ſcruples ſhall not be thought a counter-ballance to them.

Yet

Yet the more to aſſure this ſo deſirable an Iſſue, I will crave leave for a Concluſion, humbly to recommend theſe following particulars.

1. That all thoſe who are zealous of the honour and intereſt of the Church of *England*; will (the more effectually to demonſtrate the excellency of it, and to ſtop the mouth of ſlander,) oblige themſelves to a ſingular holineſs of life. Let us be aſhamed that ſince we pretend to have, and have really, a better way of Religion, not to have ſo much better Lives as we have better Principles. Let us diſdain that any petty Sect whatſoever ſhould outgo us in that which is the great end of Church Society. When thoſe that bring prejudice to our publick Worſhip, reproach it as a cold Service, Let us labour to have our hearts invigorated with ſuch a ſenſe of Devotion by it, as may not only confute the ſlander, but maintain a ſpiritual heat and life of Godlineſs in all our converſation. For let us aſſure our ſelves, this is that the credit of any Profeſſion depends upon; when we have uſed all the Arguments, and the beſt Vindications of our ſelves and our Church, it is Holineſs of life is the beſt and moſt prevalent Apology.

2. That

2. That ſince for the bringing others to Conformity we muſt perſwade them to forgo ſome part of their natural Liberties, foraſmuch as otherwiſe they can come under no Government whatſoever, but muſt be either Outlaws or abſolute Princes: To the end, I ſay, that we may prevail with them to deny themſelves in ſome things for the publick good, we ſhould do well to give them example in our own ſelf-denial and abridging our own liberty in condeſcenſion to them in ſuch things as are not the matter of Law. And that we will not outrun the Laws to contradict and vex them, but comply with them in what we may without ſin. This is that Charity and avoiding Scandal the Apoſtle ſo earneſtly recommends, of which I have ſpoken in the Conſiderations. And the conſequence is plain; If it be their duty to reſtrain themſelves in the uſe of that Liberty God hath left them, in complyance with the Laws and Magiſtrate, and for the ſake of publick Peace and Order; then it is our duty to reſtrain our ſelves in the uſe of that Liberty the Laws of God and man have left us, for the ſake of the ſame Peace and in Charity to our Brethren. Beſides that nothing works upon mens ingenuity like Ceſſion and Yielding,

and

and peculiarly with *Engliſhmen*, as I have heretofore obſerved.

3. That we uſe no provocation or exaſperation towards Diſſenters, nor countenance thoſe inconſiderable perſons that have no other way to ſhew their Zeal to the Church, but by reviling and vexing thoſe that differ from it. It were good all Governours of the Church did (and I hope they do) imitate *Memnon* the General for *Darius* againſt *Alexander*, who when he found one of his Souldiers inſtead of Darts caſting Scoffs at the Enemy, tells him, You are not entertained *ut maledicas ſed ut pugnes*. For beſides that this carriage where ever it is, is but counted a ſtrong argument of a weak Cauſe, it ſtirs up the mud of mens paſſions, clouds their underſtandings, and by repreſenting men worſe than they are, tempts them to be worſe than they would be: And if I ſee I ſhall be always noſed with my former Ignorance and folly, I am deprived of one of the greateſt incouragements to forſake it.

4. Though I have (as I hope) ſufficiently proved in the foregoing Diſcourſe, that there is no abſolute neceſſity of making any abatement of the Legal terms of Communion with this

this Church foraſmuch, as nothing is required or impoſed by the Conſtitution thereof, but what may be ſubmitted to without ſin; And therefore I will not be guilty of the preſumption to preſcribe to my Superiours either one way or other in that matter: Yet I humbly ſuggeſt, that if any ſuch thing ſhall be thought fit to be done out of condeſcenſion to the Non-conformiſts, and to gain them to the Church, it may be done freely and ſpontaneouſly, not as extorted either by their importunity or the neceſſity of affairs. For whatſoever is gotten the latter way, is not accounted yielded, but won, *nec amicos parat, nec inimicos tollit*, it paſſes no obligation upon men, but rather incourages their importunity, and confirms their obſtinacy. And there is nothing that wiſe men do or ought to reſent more, than the miſcarriage of their favours, ſince thereby they loſe not only what they grant, but their reputation too.

The Council of *Trent* therefore would hearken to no terms nor Propoſitions on the behalf of the Proteſtants, leſt they ſhould by ſome few drops of Conceſſion, increaſe their thirſt of more. But had they had as much of the *innocency of the Dove* as of the *ſubtilty of the Serpent*, or been as *ſincere* as they

they were *wiſe* in their generation, they ſhould have prevented all importunities by a liberal Grant of what was fit and juſt, and by ſuch an act of Goodneſs and Charity they might either have wrought upon the ingenuity and moderated the heat of the other Party, or at leaſt, having done what became them, they ſhould then have had good ground peremptorily to have refuſed whatſoever ſhould have been arrogantly demanded. But they (as I have ſaid) wiſely enough in their way, conſidering that if they once came to acknowledge any thing due to the Proteſtants, found they muſt be forced upon the ſame terms to yield them more then they were willing to part with, and indeed little leſs than the whole, reſolved therefore to yield nothing at all.

But as the caſe of our Church is not like theirs, ſo there is no neceſſity we ſhould make uſe of the ſame Politicks; for where there is nothing ſinful in the Conſtitution, nothing can be required to be abated but upon the terms of Prudence and Compaſſion; and if it ſhall happen that thoſe Arguments be thought fit to be heard, it is great pitty in that caſe that the reſolution ſhould not be ſo carried, as that it may be evident to all, that thoſe cauſes onely had Influence upon the effect.

If

If theſe things be conſidered by thoſe that favour the Church, and the foregoing Conſiderations be impartially weighed by the Proteſtant Diſſenters from it, I for my part ſhall conceive good hope that the Clergy of *England* ſhall recover it's antient and due Veneration, our Churches be better filled than the Conventicles, a bleſſed Symphony in our publick Prayers, and an Univerſal Peace, Love and Good-will be reſtored in this divided and diſtracted Church and Nation. Which God of his infinite Mercy grant, *&c.*

THE

BRITISH
23 JUL 74
MUSEUM

THE
Author's Poſt-ſcript
TO THE
READER,
UPON
The Second EDITION.

THE former Edition of this little Diſcourſe preſumed very much upon thy Candour, that it put it ſelf into thy hands without the civility of a Preface, or ſo much as the Name of the Author; But the truth is, I perſwaded my ſelf that whenas the Expence would be very little in the Purchaſe, and the Time not much that would

be taken up in the Peruſal, both thoſe omiſſions would be eaſily pardonable.

Beſides, I hoped the deſign would appear ſo manifeſtly honeſt, and becoming both a true Engliſh *man and a good Chriſtian, and the importance of the Matter (relating to the Peace of the Church, and of our native Country) ſo conſiderable, as to gain the attention of conſiderative men, without any the little Arts, commonly made uſe of to that purpoſe.*

But I muſt needs acknowledge that I had intentions (if thoſe Papers ſhould find ſo much countenance as to be reprinted) to have inlarged upon ſeveral particulars, that (I am well aware) through the tediouſneſs of writing, were ſo conciſely delivered, as that my meaning can hardly be reached, without more attention than can ordinarily be expected. But herein the Preſs hath prevented me; a good part of the Book being Printed

ted off the ſecond time, before (at this diſtance) I was made acquainted therewith.

However I will crave leave to explain my ſelf in a Point or two, leſt, in defect thereof, ſome offence ſhould be taken where none was intended.

In the third Chapter of the firſt Part, page 73. *ſpeaking of the Lord's Day, I ſaid, That the name Sabbath, and the nice and ſuperſtitious obſervation thereof, took its riſe from Judaiſm; which Opinion I ſee no cauſe, upon ſecond thoughts to retract. Yet I would not be ſo underſtood, as if I thought the Lord's Day was not to be conſcientiouſly obſerved; for I am ſo far from that, as that I verily think a grave and pious obſervation thereof is one of the great ſupports of Religion in the world. For were there not ſome time ſet apart ſolemnly for Devotion, and were men allowed to plod on in a conſtant ſeries of Secular employments, without the*

interruption of ſuch a Time, the minds of moſt men would be wholly and irrecoverably ſunk into the world, and loſe almoſt all notice and ſenſe of Piety: It muſt needs therefore be of unſpeakable uſe, that there is a frequent recurrence of ſuch times, wherein men may not onely have opportunity to be inſtructed, but have ſuch intermiſſion of all other buſineſs as that they ſhall have no avocation from the thoughts of another World; but conſider upon what they have heard, examine their own hearts and inſtruct their Families.

That therefore which I except againſt is the ſuperſtitious and purely Judaick Notion and Obſervance of that Day. It was wittily and ſarcaſtically ſaid in a little French *Book, of the late times, That the Religion of* England *was onely to hear Sermons and ſit ſtill on Sundaies. And really when either the main of Religion ſhall be placed in the nice obſervance*

ſervance of Time, or the ſolemnity there-of conſiſt in an auſtere countenance, when the day ſhall be thought to hallow the Work, and not the work the Day; and men ſhall count it a great piece of Religion to debar all (though never ſo grave) cheerfulneſs, and think it unlawfull to condeſcend to ſuch things as Charity, Humanity, Health, Friendſhip, or Prudence ſhall recommend: in ſhort, to turn a Chriſtian Thanksgiving into a Jewiſh Faſt; I think the life and main deſign of Chriſtian Religion is evacuated by ſuch obſervance; And this is that I affirmed was neither truly Proteſtant in particular, nor Chriſtian in the general.

In the ſame Chapter, p.74. *I ſet no very good Character upon the Doctrine of abſolute Predeſtination: and indeed, as ſome men hold it, it can admit of no other; for in the plain conſequence of it, it doth wrong both to God and Man.*

To God, *as repreſenting him from Eternity deſigning a great part of his Creatures to eternal torments, meerly becauſe he will, without reſpect to their miſdeeds; which beſides the imputation upon his Juſtice, and its enervating and evacuating all the Methods of the Goſpel, doth repreſent God ſo unlovely to the Minds of Men as that inſtead of drawing them to him, it tempts them to an utter abhorrence of the Divine Majeſty. For how is it poſſible any man ſhould love that Being (how great ſoever) that acts by meer will, and with whom it is indifferent whether men be good or bad, ſaved or damned, nay who (for ought they know) hath prevented all their endeavours and reſolved peremptorily upon their eternal damnation to unſpeakable torments? For my part, I do not know how he that ſhould make it his buſineſs to diſcourage all devotion towards God, can do it more effectually than by urging upon men the natural conſequences of this Doctrine.*

To

To Man, *as diſcouraging all his endeavours, and filling him with continual anxiety and ſolicitude about his final Eſtate; which is ſo plain as words cannot make it more.*

Upon ſuch Conſiderations as theſe (which now there is no time to dilate upon) I thought I dealt truly, and not uncharitably, when I imputed this Doctrine to a Jewiſh fondneſs towards themſelves, and their own Nation, occaſioned by the remarkable favours God uſed towards a ſtubborn and undeſerving People: Yet notwithſtanding all this, I have, and ſhall willingly acknowledge ſome good Chriſtians and very worthy men to have entertained this Doctrine, not diſcerning the conſequences of it. That therefore I may give all ſuch, as much ſatisfaction, as I can, and not ſeem further from them than indeed I am, I do declare my ſenſe in theſe Particulars,

1. *That though I queſtion ſuch an abſolute Predetermination of human Actions and Events by a peremptory decree, yet I willingly acknowledge Divine Preſcience: induced thereto by many Conſiderations, and particularly that of* Tertullian, Præſcientiæ Deus tot habet teſtes, quot fecit Prophetas, *God hath ſo many witneſſes of his Preſcience, or foreknowledge, as he hath inſpired Prophets.*

I am as tender of reſtraining the Almighty, and as far from retrenching his Prerogative as any one can reaſonably deſire. I have acknowledged that God did abſolutely determine to give the good Land of Canaan *to the Poſterity of* Abraham, *and as abſolutely excluded the Family of* Eſau *from any ſhare therein, even then when* the Children (*i. e.* Jacob *and* Eſau) had done neither good nor evil. *Which I think is as much as the Scripture intends in the places uſually*

ally cited by thoſe of the other perſwaſion. And ſo alſo I make no doubt but God doth, and may juſtly, diſpoſe of all the good and evil things of this World, out of his own Freedom, and who ſhall ſay to him, what doeſt thou? *For ſo we ſee the beſt men often in adverſity, and the righteous Cauſe oppreſſed; and in the mean time behold the wicked,* Not to be in trouble like other men.

3. *I further acknowledge that the Almighty doth* by Prerogative *diſpoſe the advantages of the Goſpel, and all extraordinary Means of being good and virtuous; otherwiſe I could give no account how it ſhould conſiſt, That the reſt of the World ſhould want thoſe Advantages the Jews had: or how it was reconcileable with his Goodneſs, to ſuffer it to be ſo long before the Sun of Righteouſneſs aroſe upon Mankind.*

4. *Therefore that which I reflect upon*

in

in the aforeſaid paſſage, and which I think I ſhould do good ſervice if I could deliver the minds of men from miſtake in, is this, That whatever Means and Advantages God affords to one People or Perſon or other, yet that antecedently and without reſpect to their good or bad uſe thereof he hath arbitrarily fixed their final dooms, and ſo decreed one man to Heaven, and another to Hell torments.

This is that which I affirm, That whileſt it goes about to aggrandize the Divine Power, it contradicts his Goodneſs and all his other Attributes.

And no conſiderative man will wonder that I am tender of all the Divine Attributes, ſince I believe the great Reaſon of Religion to be founded thereon; eſpecially ſince it ſeems ſo manifeſt, that in the Goſpel (which is a reaſonable Service) *God doth not (at leaſt ordinarily) give ſuch Rules and Laws of Life as are not*

Rom. 12. 1.

the

the reſult of his own Nature, and the rational Conſequence of our Relation to him: nor preſcribe ſuch things to be believed by us, as are not in their own nature as fit to be believed by us, as certain that they were revealed by him.

Having ſaid thus much for the ſatisfaction of ſome: Had not the haſte of the Preſs ſurprized me (as I have ſaid before) I would in the Second Part of the Diſcourſe, in purſuance of my main Deſign have added an Hiſtorical repreſentation of the Modeſty and excellent Temper of ſeveral Ancient Non-conformiſts of this Nation, as a fair Copy for thoſe to write after, in the mean time, that cannot yet be perſwaded to come compleatly over to the Church. For though I ſincerely wiſh, in the words of the Apoſtle, that all Engliſh *Proteſtants were* not onely almoſt but altogether as I am; *not excepting* theſe bonds, *as they eſteem them, for I am fully convinced (as I have* Acts 26. 29.

have ſhewed elſewhere)that Law and Liberty are no more inconſiſtent than Law and Property; the former being the defence of the latter: and I remember an excellent Saying of Cicero, Idcircò omnes legum ſervi ſumus, ut liberi eſſe poſſimus, *Therefore are we all Servants of the Laws, that we may be free.*

Yet becauſe I cannot preſently hope ſo great a good, I will not neglect any little acceſſion to the felicity of the Church. Therefore I will intreat all ſober Nonconformiſts to remember, that at the Concluſion of the famous Conference at Hampton-Court *before King* James, *when Dr.* Rheinolds, *Dr.* Sparks, *and others, had ſtrenuouſly diſputed for an abatement of Ceremonies, and ſeveral alterations in the Liturgy, but could not obtain their deſires, they were not tranſported with heat and paſſion; but ingenuouſly promiſed the Biſhops,*

Biſhops, their Antagoniſts, That they would nevertheleſs reverence them as Spiritual Fathers, and joyn with them againſt the common Enemy.

And it is very obſervable in the times of King Edward, *and Queen* Elizabeth, *thoſe that had their ſcruples, as others have now, did not, for all that, forſake the Communion and Society of the Church, nor childiſhly throw away their Meat for their diſreliſh of the Sauce.*

But inſtead of any long Deduction of theſe matters, I will take the boldneſs ſeriouſly to recommend the peruſal of the twelfth oration of Gregory Nazianzen, *touching the Peace of the Church. And eſpecially I would direct to a paſſage in the* 263. p. *of the* Paris *Edition,* 1630. *The Diſcourſe is equally level'd both againſt raſh and uncharitable Excommunication, and againſt unneceſſary*

neceſſary Separation, to this effect: "*If* "*a member be infirm, whileſt yet it re-* "*mains in the body, there is hope of its* "*recovery, and that the continual com-* "*munication of good Blood and Spirits* "*to it from the whole, will inſenſibly alter* "*and in time amend it: But if it be* "*uncharitably cut off, or any way ſepa-* "*rated, then there being an interciſion* "*of all vital influx and an interrup-* "*tion of intercourſe, all hopes of cure* "*ceaſes. But, as I ſaid, I had much rather refer the Reader to the words themſelves, of that holy, wiſe and peaceable Perſon.*

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